THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA

VOL. I PART. I.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

IN

AMERICA.

By JAMES BOWDEN.

"Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and this is the victory that overcometh the world, even our faith.

"Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God?"—1 John v. 4, 5.

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PREFACE.

To investigate the rise and to trace the progress of a particular section of the religious community is an interesting object, and when it has reference to a people such as the Society of Friends, whose principles and practices so prominently distinguish them among others of the Christian name, the interest of such a pursuit becomes greatly enhanced. The design of the following sheets is to record the history of this people in America,—a country in which they experienced the extremes of entire freedom of conscience on the one hand, and cruel religious persecution on the other.

There exist at the present time on the North American continent nearly six hundred distinct religious assemblies of the Society of Friends, scattered over the region extending from Canada and Maine in the north, to the Carolinas and Tennessee in the South, and from its cities and ports on the Atlantic, to the countries lying west of the Mississippi. These compose in all seven separate and independent Yearly Meetings, and form in the aggregate four-fifths of the whole number of this people in the world. The consideration of this fact is calculated therefore to excite an inquiry such as that to which this work is devoted.

It is true, that no inconsiderable portions of the valuable histories both of Sewel and Gough, have reference to the proceedings of Friends in America. The details, however, which these furnish are confined principally to the sufferings of some of their early members or ministers in New England, and to transactions of the Society within the limits of Pennsylvania and the Jerseys. The present work embraces a much wider field, and aims to exhibit a distinct history of each individual Yearly Meeting of Friends in America from its rise down to a period comparatively recent.

The new and unpublished materials relating to the Society of Friends in the western world, which, under many favourable circumstances the writer has been enabled to collect from various sources on both sides of the Atlantic, together with an easy access to numerous printed works of ancient date and of great scarcity, have placed within his reach the means of effecting the object to a much larger extent than he could have anticipated. And here he desires to acknowledge the kind and valuable assistance which he has derived both from meetings and individuals, in the readiness with which they have allowed him access to MSS., including some thousands of letters of early Friends; with other important historical documents of more recent date.

In studying the history of the Society of Friends, it has appeared to the author important, rightly to understand the religious character and condition of the population amongst which our early Friends arose. With this view the chapter on the discovery and colonization of North America has been introduced, and though somewhat extended, it is hoped that its details will not be considered inappropriate.

It had been intended also to accompany this work with an

introductory essay on the various dispensations of Divine Providence to man, and to notice the remarkable series of events, by which way was gradually prepared for the introduction into the world of the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as to give a brief view of the history of the Christian church down to the time of George Fox; but, as observations of this kind appear to be more suited to a general history of Friends, they have not been introduced into this more restricted work. Before passing from this subject, however, it may be remarked, that a prominent object in penning the essay in question, was to show that the Protestant Reformation and the subsequent rise of the Puritan professors of Christianity, were circumstances in the overruling providences of the Divine Hand, calculated to prepare the hearts of many for the reception of those spiritual and primitive doctrines of the Christian religion, which George Fox and his associates enunciated and revived, after the long and dark night of the Romish apostacy. In tracing the history of Christianity, the reflective mind cannot fail, we think, to be impressed with the gradually progressive nature of the Divine dispensations. It might be expected that in treating upon the history of a particular section of the Christian church, some systematic account would appear of the religious views by which it is distinguished; but for the reasons just advanced, in the present instance it has not been attempted.

In reading this history there may be those who in reference to some of its early chapters, may think that the cruel and anti-christian conduct exhibited by some of the religious bodies in America towards Friends might have been revived with less prominence, in deference to the feelings of those,

who, although professing the same religious opinions, now entertain views far different from those of their predecessors, as to the toleration of individual sentiment in religion. But the historian, to be faithful to his trust, cannot with justice listen to such pleadings, however congenial they may be to his own feelings. It is his duty to lay before the reader the transactions of the times, without considerations of this sort. If such an objection were admitted, it would apply not only to all ecclesiastical history, but to general history also, and it will at once be seen that the practical carrying out of the principle alluded to, would render histories extremely partial and unsatisfactory.

Others again in perusing these pages, may be inclined to censure as stubborn and self-willed, the conduct of those who exhibited on many occasions, their inflexible adherence to conscientious conviction. It was observed of Friends in the time of George Fox, that they were *as stiff as trees.* Their refusal to pay tithes, to perform military service, to take oaths, &c., in the sure prospect of sufferings, gave rise to this remark. This particular trait in the character of Friends, has been maintained from their rise, with greater or smaller exception, down to the present day. Clarkson, in noticing this uncompromising characteristic, thus speaks, "It has been an established rule with them, from the formation of the Society, not to temporize, or violate their conscience; or, in other words, not to do that which, as a body of Christians, they believe to be wrong, though the usages of the world, or the government of the country under which they live, should require it; but rather to submit to the frowns and indignation of the one, and the legal penalties annexed to their disobedience by the other." After alluding to the testimony

which Friends bear against what they believe to be wrong, he proceeds, "this noble practice of *bearing testimony*, by which a few individuals attempt to stem the torrent of immorality, by opposing themselves to its stream; and which may be considered as a living martyrdom, does, in a moral point of view, a great deal of good to those who conscientiously adopt it. It recalls first principles to their minds. It keeps in their remembrance the religious rights of man. It teaches them to reason upon principle, and to make their estimates by a moral standard. It is productive both of patience and of courage. It occasions them to be kind, and attentive, and merciful to those who are persecuted and oppressed. It throws them into the presence of Divinity, when they are persecuted themselves. In short, it warms their moral feelings, and elevates their religious thoughts. Like oil it keeps them from rusting. Like a whet-stone, it gives them a new edge. Take away this practice from the constitution of the members of this Society, and you pull down a considerable support of their moral character." "It is a great pity," he continues, "that, as professing Christians, we should not more of us incorporate this noble principle individually into our religion. We concur unquestionably in customs, through the fear of being reputed singular, of which our hearts do not always approve; though nothing is more true, than that a Christian is expected to be singular, with respect to the corruptions of the world. What an immensity of good would be done, if cases of persons, choosing rather to suffer than to temporize, were so numerous as to attract the general notice of men! Would not every case of suffering, operate as one of the most forcible lessons that could be given, to those who should see it? And how long would that infamous

system have to live, which makes a distinction between political expediency and moral right ?"*

In the course of this history the reader will meet with many biographical sketches of the lives of those who were prominently and devotedly engaged in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom in the western world, by the public advocacy of the simple and spiritual views of this Society. The Christian constancy, the inflexible perseverance, the meekness, the patience, and the holy resignation exhibited by them, under a variety of trying circumstances, and many of them under a most cruel and barbarous persecution, and in some cases even to the taking away of their lives, offer to the world an undeniable testimony to the unfailing support of the faithful in the everlasting power of Jehovah, and to the consolations and joys experienced by the true believers in Christ.

With a view the more distinctly to point out the geographical situation of meetings and places, and to enable the reader the more readily to trace the course of those who travelled in gospel labours in America, maps and plans will be occasionally introduced. Fac-similes of original documents and of letters of early Friends, will also be given.

In conclusion, the writer would observe, that if in the following pages he has been successful in furnishing his friends with reading from which they may derive instruction, and of inducing among them, more especially the younger classes of the Society, an increased interest in the history of their own people, he will have the pleasing reflection that his labours have not been in vain.

London, Ninth Month, 1850.

* Portraiture of Quakerism, vol. iii. p. 198.

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THE HISTORY

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SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

America unknown to the Ancients—Icelandic MS. accounts of Northmen—The discovery of America by Columbus and Cabot—The expedition of Cortereal, a Portuguese, to North America—He kidnaps the Indians for slaves—The French attempt to form colonies under Verazzani and Cartier—The emigration of the French Huguenots and Romanists—The Spaniards endeavour to plant settlements in Florida, under Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, Fernando de Soto, and Don Pedro Melendez—The English, under Gilbert and Raleigh, attempt to establish colonies in Carolina—The settlement of Virginia—The character of the settlers—Disastrous conflict with the Indians—The introduction of Negro Slavery—The persecution of the Puritans in England—James I. grants them a charter for a province in New England—They settle at Plymouth—The Massachusetts Company—The religious intolerance of the Puritans in America—Their character—Their persecutions in Massachusetts—Roger Williams is exiled, and forms a settlement at Providence—Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomians are banished, and establish a colony on Rhode Island—The persecution and banishment of the Baptists by the Puritans—The colonization of New Hampshire and Connecticut—The Dutch settle at New York—The Swedish colony of Delaware—Maryland colonized by Papists and others, under Lord Baltimore—Carolina and its government under Locke's "Constitutions;" its success under John Archdale, a Friend—Recapitulation—Concluding remarks.

The geography of Europe, Asia, and Africa, appears to have been well understood by the ancients, but they entertained not the remotest idea of the existence of the vast continent of

America. Who were the first discoverers of the western world, still remains doubtful. "The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries," at Copenhagen, a few years since, published a work to prove that Northmen, in the tenth century, were its original discoverers. The work is compiled chiefly from Icelandic historical manuscripts. Much doubt has been thrown on the authenticity of these ancient documents, yet no sufficient reason has been shown, for altogether rejecting the conclusion that the North American continent was visited by Northmen, although great uncertainty exists as to the portion of the coast on which they may have landed. No desire, however, of inquiring into the secrets of the Atlantic, arose, until suggested towards the close of the fifteenth century by the surpassing genius of Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa.

Columbus, under the auspices of Isabella of Spain, set sail in the Sixth Month of 1492, on the maritime enterprise, which has so remarkably signalized his name. He conceived the idea that it was practicable to reach the distant and unknown shores of eastern Asia, by crossing the Atlantic, but without any expectation that this attempt would lead to the discovery of a new continent. After a sail of two months, he descried one of the Bahama Islands, and subsequently discovered Cuba and Hayti; but returned without touching the continent of America. In the Ninth Month of the following year, this enterprising navigator left the shores of Spain on a second western expedition; but his voyage extended no further than two of the Caribbee Islands, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. A third expedition followed, and early in 1498, he touched that part of the continent of South America, near which the Orinoco pours its vast stream into the Mexican Gulf.

The achievements of Columbus appear to have kindled in the hearts of the emulous, a desire for renown similar to that which characterized his name, and in the year 1496, John Cabot obtained from Henry VII., for himself and three sons, a patent for discovery and conquest of unknown lands. John Cabot was a Venetian merchant, who resided occasionally in Bristol. Little is known of his history further than that he was wealthy, in-

telligent, and fond of maritime discovery. Sebastian his son, was born in Bristol in 1477. With his son Sebastian he set sail from Bristol, and in the Fourth Month of the same year came in sight of the cliffs of Labrador. No account of this voyage has been preserved, further than the statement of this discovery; it is supposed, however, that the navigators returned pretty directly to England, an opinion which is corroborated by the following entry in the privy purse expenses of Henry VII.— "10th August, 1497. To hym that found the New Isle £10." If we reject the claims of the Danish antiquarians for the Northmen of the tenth century, to the Cabots must be attributed the first discovery of the western continent, being fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, touched the shore of that part now termed Columbia, and almost two years before the coasts of South America were explored by Amerigo Vespucci; from whom, under the supposition that he was the earliest discoverer of the New World, the name of America is derived.

A second western voyage was undertaken by Sebastian Cabot in the spring of 1498, but with reference to commerce more than to discovery. In this enterprise Henry VII. was a partner. Cabot again reached the coast of Labrador, and turning southward, proceeded along the shores of the Continent about as far as Albemarle Sound in North Carolina.

As it is not within the design of the present work to particularise all the enterprises of those, who, from different motives, soon made their way to the newly discovered continent; but merely, by way of introduction, to sketch an outline of the discovery and colonization of North America, it will be sufficient for this purpose briefly to allude to some of the most striking of these adventures.

Following the second expedition of the Cabots, the next important discovery was made in 1500, by Gaspar Cortereal, a Portuguese. Having reached Newfoundland, he sailed northward until he came to a long range of coast; to which, in reference to the ability of the natives for labour, he gave the name of Labrador. It is stated, that he found the country covered with timber, and that its Indian inhabitants were a robust and hardy race.

Cortereal seeing that they were well fitted for labour, captured fifty-three of them, whom he sold as slaves on his return to Portugal. Trafficking in the bodies of men was an enormity, with which the Portuguese had, for more than half a century, made themselves familiar; and to that nation must be attributed the lasting disgrace of having been the first to connect the abominations of the Slave-trade with the American continent. It is said that this navigator perished in an affray with the Indians, in a second voyage which he undertook for the purpose of kidnapping more of them. These voyages of Gaspar Cortereal are all that history records of PORTUGUESE expeditions to North America.

The FRENCH, though less of a maritime nation than either the Spanish or Portuguese, were desirous of participating in the advantages, which territorial conquest might afford them in the new world. With this view, Francis I. employed Juan Verazzani, a skilful Florentine navigator, to sail for its distant shores. Passing by way of Madeira, and having encountered a severe tempest, Verazzani, in the Eleventh Month 1523, came in sight of the coast of North Carolina, and sailing northward, he entered the inlets which afterwards became the harbours of New York and Newport. The land which he passed, being covered with gentle and finely wooded hills, reminded him of Rhodes, and from hence may be traced the derivation of Rhode Island. The expedition continuing its course northward, proceeded as far as Nova Scotia. While the natives of Carolina welcomed the strangers to their shores, those of the northern region were hostile and suspicious. The visits of the Portuguese to the latter, for the nefarious object of procuring slaves, are sufficient to explain this difference.

The voyage of Verazzani which extended along seven hundred miles of coast, including a large portion of the present United States, and most of British North America, gave to the French some claim to a considerable extent of territory, on the assumption of discovery; and with the desire of exploring still further and of settling colonies in those parts, an expedition for these purposes was formed under Cartier in 1534, and another in 1541. These and several other subsequent attempts of the French

nation to plant colonies in North America, entirely failed, until the settlement at Port Royal, now Annapolis, in 1605, under De Monts, a Calvinist. He obtained from the French king permission for the free exercise of religion, for himself, and for those Huguenot emigrants who accompanied him. The French Catholics, whose attention was directed to the new settlement, became anxious to proselyte the Indians to their religion, and the arrival of Jesuits with this express object, quickly followed. Biart and De Beincourt of this order, went to reside among the Indians of the Algonquin race, and were successful in inducing the Penobscot and other native tribes of Maine, to embrace the Popish religion, which to this day is professed by the New England Indians. Under Champlain, monks from France also found their way to Canada, but the presence of these proselyting Romanists led to dissensions between them and the Calvinists, which impeded the success of the colony. The French, during their settlement in Canada, having quarrelled with the English, were driven from their possessions, but they were reinstated by treaty in 1632. The extension of American colonization was now undertaken by the French with increased vigour, and under the direction of Champlain in 1642, a chain of settlements was formed, extending from Quebec to Montreal, and in a few years after as far west as the shores of Lake Ontario.

Whilst the French were endeavouring to extend their territories on this vast continent, the SPANIARDS, encouraged by their successes in the South, strove also for territorial acquisitions in North America. In 1512, on the day called Palm Sunday, or in Spanish, "Pasqua Florida," Ponce de Leon, an enterprising Spaniard, discovered an extensive range of country crowned with magnificent forest, and to this, in honour of the day on which he discovered it, he gave the name of Florida. Returning to Spain, he obtained authority from the king to lead an expedition to the country he had discovered. This object however he did not live to accomplish, but died on his passage thither. Notwithstanding the death of Ponce de Leon, the expedition proceeded, and soon found its way to Florida, but no attempt at colonization appears to have been made by the adventurers, and little is known of the

result of this and some other expeditions of the Spaniards, except that they followed the example of their neighbours the Portuguese, in the iniquitous practice of kidnapping the unsuspecting Indians for slaves. The idea of planting a colony in Florida, was a favourite one with the Spaniards, and in 1528, they made another attempt, on a considerable scale ; no less than six hundred men in five vessels, having embarked for the object under Narvaez, a distinguished adventurer of the time. The people in this expedition, being regarded by the natives as invaders of their country, were met on their landing by signs of much opposition, but fear of European power soon caused the Indians to retreat into the depths of their unknown forests. Under the impression that golden treasures existed in the country, Narvaez determined to explore the interior. To their dismay, however, they found their hopes of wealth, a perfect chimera, and, after traversing a rugged and mountainous country, interspersed with extensive lagoons and marshes, and maintaining frequent conflicts with the exasperated Indians, a remnant only of the inland party returned to relate their sad adventures.

The calamitous issue of the attempt of Narvaez, so far from extinguishing the desire for colonial enterprise in the new country, seems to have led to more determined efforts for its prosecution. In 1539, Fernando de Soto, who had accompanied Pizarro in his Peruvian invasion, formed the bold idea of settling a kingdom in Florida, with himself for its supreme head, and with this view he sailed from Spain with nine hundred adventurers. Aware of the disasters which had befallen those who had preceded him, in consequence of the hostility of the natives, Soto was anxious to avoid a similar danger by endeavouring to conciliate them. The hatred of the Indians towards their heartless invaders, was, however too deep to be effaced by professions of Spanish friendship, and the attempts to reconcile them entirely failed. "If they were honest," replied the natives, "they would stay at home and cultivate their own soil, instead of coming to distant climates to expose themselves by their robberies, to the execration of mankind." After a long and disastrous attempt to find mineral wealth in North America, Soto died in Florida, and his party,

having concluded to abandon the country, made their way to Mexico.

Notwithstanding that the Spaniards made many efforts to plant colonies in North America, not a single permanent settlement had been formed by them until 1565, when Don Pedro Melendez received a commission from Philip II. to make another trial, and also to extirpate as heretics, some Huguenots who had landed in Florida. Melendez sailed, and crossing the Atlantic, took up his position on the river (St.) Augustine, and founded the town now known by that name. Excepting those on the Mexican isthmus, (St.) Augustine therefore may be considered as the oldest European settlement on the continent of North America. The Spaniards kept possession of Florida for two centuries from this date, but with scarcely any extension of their settlement, and as late as 1830 this country, containing an area somewhat greater than all England, had a population of only about 19,000 free persons. The love of this people for gold, which they had so easily and so abundantly obtained in Peru and Mexico, unfitted them for colonizing those countries in which agricultural labour only was available, and to this cause may be attributed the failure of the Spanish to extend their settlements in North America.

The English, though the discoverers of America, were evidently less earnest than either the French or Spaniards to form settlements in that country. This may be partly accounted for by the circumstance, that the public mind was much occupied on the subject of the Protestant Reformation, and some other topics of an engrossing character; it would be difficult otherwise to understand why nearly a century should have passed away before any considerable effort was made by them to plant a colony in the newly discovered world. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of distinguished rank, was the first to form a plan for settling an English colony in North America, an enterprise in which he was much encouraged and assisted by Sir Walter Raleigh. He put to sea in 1583, with five vessels, containing in all two hundred and sixty persons, "skilled in every faculty;" of whom carpenters, masons, and more particularly those skilled in work-

ing and refining metals, formed a considerable part. In about three months the expedition reached the banks of Newfoundland, where Gilbert found no less than thirty-six vessels busily engaged in the fishery; over these he assumed an absolute control, and by virtue of the patent granted to him by Elizabeth, he claimed a territory extending two hundred miles from the harbour of (St.) John's, where he then happened to be. In pursuance of the more immediate object of his voyage, he quitted Newfoundland, and bent his course for the south, but from this time he encountered a series of disasters, which prevented him from landing on the coast, and after witnessing the wreck of one of his vessels, and the departure of two others for England on account of sickness, Gilbert prudently determined to return home. On the passage they were overtaken by a hurricane, in which Gilbert's vessel suddenly disappeared, leaving but a small one reduced almost to a wreck, which returned alone.

The disastrous result of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition did not discourage the English from making another attempt to gain a footing in the New World. Raleigh, who was a man of distinguished genius and enterprise, undertook at his sole expense a grand scheme for the purpose. His first step was to send out two small vessels to explore the coasts; and these, favoured with a successful voyage, reached the shores of North Carolina in safety. The natives, who were described as "handsome men, and very courteous in their demeanour," soon flocked to the vessels, and were treated with much kindness. After coasting a little further along North Carolina, the exploring party returned, and reported that "the soil was the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful and wholesome of all the world," and that the natives were "most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile and treason." Raleigh was delighted with the favourable account, and the nation looked forward with high expectations to the undeveloped treasures of the new continent. Queen Elizabeth, gratified with the prospect of thus extending her dominions, accepted the honour of giving a name to the promising country, and as a memorial of her single state of life, it was named VIRGINIA.

Raleigh now lost no time in preparing another expedition, and at the expense of nearly all his fortune, (for Elizabeth was too cautious and penurious to expend the public money in this way) he equipped, in 1585, a fleet of seven vessels, containing one hundred and eight colonists, placing them under the command of Greenville, a man of considerable ability. The vessels reached Virginia in safety, and after exploring the coast for more than two hundred miles, the emigrants landed at Roanoke. "We have discovered the main," remarks one of them, "to be the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven. It is the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world; for the soil is of a huge unknown greatnesse, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely."* The English had not long occupied Roanoke ere they unhappily commenced a hostile course towards the natives. In their early conflicts with these sons of the forest, they were enabled by the use of fire-arms to drive them into the woods, but they soon found to their dismay that they had made a dangerous and terrible foe of the North American Indian. The tribes of Carolina rightly estimating the strength of their new enemy, united for the purpose of driving the English from their country, and had not Drake arrived with a fleet in which the colonists were conveyed home, the result would doubtless have been fatal to them all.

Raleigh, thoughtful of his Virginian enterprise, had dispatched a vessel laden with stores for the colonists, but ere the ship arrived, Roanoke had been deserted. In another fortnight Greenville came with three ships and about fifty new settlers, but great was his disappointment on finding the settlement entirely unpeopled; unwilling, however, that the English should forfeit their right to the country, he left fifteen of his men to keep possession of Roanoke, and returned to England. These were dispiriting circumstances to Raleigh, but he was not dismayed by them. His opinion of the importance and value of founding a colony in the New World was decided, and he determined to use every endeavour to accomplish it. The fame of

* Lane, in Hakluyt, iii. p. 311.

the country made it easy to procure emigrants, and a new expedition was accordingly planned, to which Raleigh granted a charter of incorporation, and in the summer of 1587, it reached Roanoke. Here the new adventurers searched in vain for the men left by Greenville, but the human bones scattered around left no doubt that they had perished by the hands of the natives. The new emigrants, consisting of eighty-nine men and seventeen women, fondly anticipating that they were settling a State in the new world, began the foundation of a city, which they named Raleigh. The settlers, however, soon began to entertain gloomy apprehensions for the future, and their governor was sent to England to use his persuasion for fresh reinforcements and supplies. More than a year passed away before he returned, and then to his astonishment he found the island of Roanoke a second time deserted, and the city of Raleigh without a single European. What became of the settlers still remains a mystery, but it is conjectured that, being reduced to extreme distress, they were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians. The later physical character of the tribe, and a tradition existing among its descendants are adduced in confirmation of this supposition.

The colonization of America by the English after Raleigh's disasters lay dormant for many years, but the additional accounts which were furnished by navigators, of its fertility and beauty, gave at length a new impulse to the adventurous to seek a home in the new world. In 1606, a patent was granted to some wealthy Londoners for planting a colony in Virginia, and another to some enterprising noblemen in the west of England. The patent of the London company comprehended the present territory of Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina; and the other, called the Plymouth adventurers, the country north of Maryland. The attempts of the Plymouth company proved a failure until the Puritans undertook it in 1620, but the London, or more properly the Virginian company, were more successful. In 1606, preparations were made by the latter on a larger scale than in any preceding effort of the English for such an object. Three ships were fitted out, and in the early part of 1607 anchored safely in Chesapeake Bay. From thence the emigrants ascended

a river, and founded a town on its banks, to which, in honour of the reigning sovereign, they gave the name of James's Town. For several years the colony proceeded but slowly, and with much difficulty, arising partly from constant collisions with the irritated natives, and partly from the class of persons who had emigrated, whom the governor described as "poor gentlemen, tradesmen, serving-men, libertines, and such like, ten times more fit to spoil a commonwealth, than either to begin or maintain one." Proceeding as many of these people did, with extravagant hopes of accumulating wealth, they paid but little attention to those pursuits which were necessary to draw subsistence even from the fertile soil of Virginia. The transportation of criminals to the settlement was another source of evil, tending to lower the moral tone of the colony, and to these unfavourable circumstances may be added the political strife by which the province was distracted in the time of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. The restoration of the monarchy was, however, the commencement of a more auspicious era for the colony, many persons preferring to leave England, and proving to be useful settlers. In 1660, being more than half a century from its foundation, it had only 10,000 inhabitants, but ten years later it could number 40,000.

In the early settlement of Virginia, it had been specially enacted, that the religion of the colony, should be according to the doctrines and rites of the Church of England. Subsequently, however, Puritans from New England, attracted by the fertility of the land, found their way to the country, and so much religious liberty was permitted, that large numbers were preparing to follow them: but English intolerance interfered; and in 1643, under the administration of Sir W. Berkley, it was enacted that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the English Church.* The passing of this measure was soon followed by the banishment of Nonconformists. Yet the settlers, though mostly Episcopalians, and favourable to the cause of the Royalists, were glad to avail themselves of the increase of political liberty, under the Protectorate; a new order

* Act 64. Heming, i. p. 277.

of things, in regard to religious freedom, followed as a consequence of this change, and, but for an act in 1658, by which Friends were banished, and their return was deemed to be felony,* religious toleration would have been nearly complete in Virginia.

The right of the Indians to their native soil was a principle never recognised by the Virginians, the claims of justice were overlooked and trampled on, and the tribes of that territory, being alarmed for the safety of their hunting grounds, conceived the horrible idea of exterminating their invaders. The plan was contrived, and kept in great secrecy, and in the Third Month, 1618, the irritated and revengeful Algonquin, fell upon the unsuspecting settlers, and in one hour, destroyed 347 of those located on the banks of James's river. Providentially, a converted Indian had revealed the plot to the inhabitants of James's Town the night before, otherwise it is probable that the whole colony would have perished. The effect of this sudden carnage was most disastrous to the rising colony. At the time of the massacre it had more than 4000 English, but within a year, they were reduced to nearly one-half that number. The feelings of alarm which prompted the settlers to abandon their new homes, on this outbreak of the angry natives, soon gave way to those of revenge, and in return, a war of extermination being commenced against the Indians, drove them into the fastnesses of the interior. But, notwithstanding this, the natives in 1644, made another sudden attack, and killed three hundred of the colonists.

Before concluding the sketch of this first permanent settlement of the English in America, we must not omit to notice the introduction of negro slavery. In 1620, a Dutch ship of war entered James's river, and offered twenty negroes for sale. The settlers unhappily bought them; and thus commenced in America an iniquitous system, the baneful effects of which on the temporal and religious interests of the colony, it is impossible to estimate. To what extent negro slavery in America has been the means of retarding the spread of vital religion in the earth,

* Norwood in Bancroft, i. p. 532.

is known only to Him who is omniscient, but we may be well assured that it has been great, and, that the responsibility of introducing and upholding such a cruel outrage on humanity, and which so violates the rights of man, must be tremendous. To Virginia then, attaches the indelible stain of being the first to promote on the North American continent, the sin of negro slavery. In tracing the future history of the American colonies, it is not difficult to perceive that the rod of divine displeasure has signally rested on this guilty state, furnishing to mankind another teaching lesson, that the surest guarantee for the ultimate success and prosperity of a people, is an uncompromising adherence to the law of universal righteousness.

For more than a century after the discovery of the Western World, the English had landed on its shores, comparatively speaking, but a mere handful of people. After repeated failures, the colonization of Virginia, under the management of the London company, led to great expectations; but it was reserved for the Puritans to give the greatest impulse to the tide of emigration to the new country.

The Reformation in England had never been accompanied by a full toleration of individual sentiment in matters of religion, and hence may be dated the establishment of the colonies in New England. The Nonconformist emigrants to that region, were individuals, who contended for a more thorough reformation in religion, than that recognized by Queen Elizabeth. They were dissatisfied with the pompous display of the Anglican Church, and regarded it as a remnant of the Romish apostacy. The use of organs and other instruments of music in the time of public worship, the prohibition of extemporaneous prayer, the bowing at the name of Jesus, the use of the surplice and other priestly vestments, together with the liturgy and the various distinctions of rank among the ministers of religion, were among the leading grounds of dissent held by this class of English Reformers. The Protestants of England thus became divided into two parties, the one pleading for greater purity and simplicity in the church, and the other for entire conformity to the reformed religion as recognized by law. The latter being the more powerful of the two,

soon had recourse to the civil power in the enforcement of their views. In 1554 an "Act of Conformity" was passed, and at the instigation of Elizabeth in 1593, another act of greater severity followed, including provisions for penalties and imprisonments, and even for capital punishment, against those who refused to conform to the usages of the church established by law.

The enactments for enforcing conformity to the Anglican church, drove the Puritan party to speak openly of secession, and at last in 1572, they formed a separate congregation. The laws against nonconformists were now cruelly enforced, numbers were banished the country, and two were even hanged at Tyburn. The persecuted Puritans finding that Holland afforded them a refuge, fled thither, and a congregation of them was formed at Amsterdam; but the intermarriages of their members with Dutch families decreased their numbers, and this, with some other considerations, led most of the younger part of their church to resolve on a removal to America. An application for a grant of land was accordingly obtained, and was sanctioned by King James; but he refused to enter into any stipulation for the free exercise of their religion; saying, that "if they demeaned themselves quietly, no inquiry would be made." In the summer of 1620, one hundred persons, having about £2,400 in goods and provisions, embarked as exiles, seeking a new home on the western shores of the Atlantic. After a voyage of two months, they arrived in the harbour of Cape Cod, in sight of the most barren part of Massachusetts. The country on which they landed, had, a few years before, been rendered a lonely desert by a pestilence which had swept over it. Wigwams were found, but their tenants had disappeared; the rising smoke in the distance, however, indicated that the Indian was not far off,—a fact which was soon confirmed by the sound of the war-whoop, for the natives knew the European only as the kidnapper of their race. After exploring the country, the emigrants chose a spot, as the most inviting on which to form a settlement, and to this they gave the name of Plymouth. The winter was passed in endurance of extreme privation, and ere another summer's sun had beamed upon the little company, one-half of their number had closed their earthly career. In imitation of the primitive Chris-

tians, these Pilgrim Fathers adopted a community of goods as the basis of their system; but they found to their cost that it was one ill adapted to their state. Labour was given with so sluggish a disposition, that in some instances whipping was resorted to, as a necessary coercive. In the following year the colony was reinforced by an arrival of new emigrants. For at least three years after the landing of the Puritans in New England, they had to submit to great hardships, which they bore with much cheerfulness; and the settlement increased. In ten years it was flourishing, and numbered three hundred inhabitants.

The determination of the leaders of the English Episcopal church, to persist in enforcing the laws made against dissent, and the unceasing efforts of Laud for the introduction of a more pompous ritual, accompanied with an inquisitorial system of great severity against nonconformists, increased the desires of the persecuted Puritans for emigration to America. The reluctance which many of them felt to exchange the land of their nativity for the wilds of the new world was overcome by the persecution to which they were subjected, and an association for promoting emigration to New England, was formed on a large scale. Men of rank and influence, and ejected Puritan ministers of high standing, encouraged the scheme, and a grant of land from the government was applied for. The Court was not opposed to the design, and a patent was obtained, for "the governor and company of Massachusetts Bay." Preparations for embarkation having been made, the emigrants, amounting to above two hundred, set sail in six vessels. In the Sixth Month, 1629, they reached the coast of Massachusetts, and landed on a spot which they named Salem. Some needy settlers, amounting to about one hundred, had already located themselves at this place, and altogether the infant colony numbered three hundred souls.

The early settlers at Salem, like those of the Plymouth colony, suffered great distresses, and before the following spring, more than eighty of their number had died. But the accounts transmitted to England gave a cheering description of the new country, and the feeling in favour of emigration became more intense among the nonconformists In the following year preparations

were made on a still larger scale, and no less than fifteen hundred persons landed on the shores of Massachusetts, including many both of wealth and education. The desire for this foreign land continued to gather strength, and year after year, masses of English dissenters of the most respectable class, proceeded to New England. Neale does not doubt that in a few years one fourth of the property of the kingdom would have been taken to America, had no resistance been offered. But the government became alarmed, and a proclamation was issued "to restrain the disorderly transporting of his Majesty's subjects, because of the many idle and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live beyond the reach of authority." On the day following an order appeared to "stay eight ships now in the river of Thames prepared to go for New England;" and the passengers, among whom was Oliver Cromwell,* were obliged to disembark. Although a considerable check was thus given to emigration by the interference of the civil power, yet large numbers continued to find their way to Massachusetts. It is calculated that, during twelve years, the emigrants amounted to no less than twenty-one thousand.

Escaped from a harassing and unjust persecution in their native land, it might have been expected that the settlers in New England would recognize religious liberty as the basis of their system. But no such idea, it appears, was ever entertained by them. The express object of the Puritans in seeking to found a colony in America, was, that they might enjoy the free exercise of their religion. The charter, however, is entirely silent on the subject. The king regarded the emigrants as a trading company, and they were forbidden to make any law or ordinance repugnant to the statutes of the realm. The fair construction of the charter is, that entire dissent from the English church was not intended to be allowed, nor does it appear that the English government, in granting it, ever anticipated that the Puritans would insist on a separation of church and state, or that their own religion, both in doctrine and discipline, was to be the only one tolerated in Massachusetts. These stern and unbending reformers, however,

* Mather's Magnalia Christi Americana, Book I. p. 23.—Hallam's Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 476.

were resolved that neither the Romish apostacy, nor "the corruptions of the English church," should find sufferance within the limits of their jurisdiction. "The common prayer worship," and prelacy, they deemed to be incompatible with that religious liberty, for the enjoyment of which, though in a western wilderness, they had left the homes of their ancestors, and they boldly determined to resist their introduction among the settlers. "Their imposition," they declared, "would be a sinful violation of the worship of God." Religious union they believed to be their stronghold against attacks of the hierarchy in England, and "the order of the churches" was to be maintained at all hazards; "The brethren" only, were to be the people of their country, and all dissent from their own belief and form of worship, was to be visited by the strong arm of magisterial authority; both minister and ruler regarding every innovation of their principles as dangerous to the community. Dudley, one of the most respectable governors of the province, was found at his death with a copy of verses in his pocket, in which these lines occur:

> "Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
> O'er such as do a toleration hatch."

The pure doctrines of Christianity the Puritans fondly conceived, were, by their instrumentality, to be reduced to practice, and the civilized world was to have in Puritan New England, an example of a church, free from all those pollutions which had gradually crept into Christendom. That this formed the primary object, and was the conscientious aim of the Pilgrim Fathers in emigrating to New England, is not to be doubted.

The character of these emigrants was undoubtedly much above the average of the British population, for sobriety, industrial habits, and general integrity of conduct. "God sifted three kingdoms," said one of their early governors," that he might bring choice grain into this wilderness." Notwithstanding their bigoted attachment to their own doctrines, and the errors which they committed on the subject of religious toleration, there is ample evidence that the early Puritans of New England were mostly a conscientious and pious people, but distinguished by

some striking peculiarities. The practice of substituting Hebrew names, spiritual terms, and even passages of scripture, for English proper names, was one of them ;* and from this fact may be traced the prevalence of Old Testament names in New England at the present day.

The system which the Puritans intended to pursue in America, with respect to religion, was unexpected to the English nation ; and had it been fully known, none, certainly, but those of their own profession would have joined in the emigration. It happened, however, that of the party who went out in 1629, two who had been appointed members of the colonial council by the Company, were Episcopalians, and these, refusing to unite with the Fathers in their mode of worship, collected a company of the settlers at Salem, who were desirous of upholding the forms and ceremonies of the English church. This circumstance took the Puritans by surprise, but being settled in their conclusions, they determined to meet the supposed evil with a high hand. The two Episcopalian legislators, after being accused as spies in the camp, and forbidden to exercise their religion in Massachusetts, were arrested, and on the return of the vessels, sent back to England. This was the first act of Puritan intolerance in New England ; and had it been the only one, the Christian church would have been spared some of its dark excesses.

The exclusive system of the Puritans in America, upheld as it was with the utmost severity, had its opponents. There were among those strict professors, enlightened men, who saw that it

* In *Broome's Travels in England*, p. 279, it is stated, that in the county of Sussex, a jury was empanelled whose names were

Accepted, Trevor	Return, Spelman
Redeemed, Compton	Be Faithful, Joiner
Faint Not, Hewit	Fly Debate, Roberts
Make Peace, Heaton	Fight the good Fight of Faith, White
God Reward, Smart	More Fruit, Fowler
Standfast on High, Stringer	Hope for, Bending
Earth, Adams	Graceful, Herding
Called, Lower	Weep Not, Billing
Kill Sin, Pimple	Meek, Brewer

was repugnant to the spirit of true religion. Roger Williams of Salem, "a young minister godly and zealous," was one of this class, and one who did not hesitate boldly to declare, that "the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience, is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ." The presence of every man at public worship in New England was insisted upon, but this, Roger Williams contended, was an invasion of the natural rights of the subject. Doctrines thus openly professed and promulgated, were viewed as treason by the ministers of Massachusetts, and at length, in 1635, the magistrates resolved to banish Williams, as a disturber of the order of church and state. Exiled from his friends, Roger Williams sought shelter among the Indians of Narragansett Bay. They received him gladly. "The ravens," he remarked, "fed me in the wilderness." He determined upon founding a new colony, and acknowledging the rights of the native inhabitant to the soil; he purchased a territory, and established a new colony. Roger Williams thus became the founder of an American plantation, and pursuing an enlightened and Christian course, he founded it on the principles of absolute religious freedom. A spot having been selected for a settlement, he began to build, and in commemoration of the mercies of the Most High, he called it Providence, desiring that it might be "a shelter for persons of distressed conscience."* The liberal policy of the founder of this settlement was duly appreciated, and he soon had the satisfaction of welcoming to the wilds of Narragansett, "godly people from England, who apprehended a special hand of Providence in raising this plantation, and whose hearts were stirred to come over." Its English population consequently increased rapidly.

Scarcely had the first dwellings in Providence been tenanted by the exiles from Massachusetts, ere that intolerant colony was subjected to a new schism. A Calvinistic sect, entertaining the notion that the Puritans of New England placed a dangerous reliance on the strictness and severity of their lives for salvation, and that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, constituted the true ground of the Christian's hope, gave rise to this division.

* Backus, i. p. 94, in Bancroft.

Anne Hutchinson, a woman of great eloquence and ability was the leader of these Antinomians, and Harry Vane, then governor of the province, and who afterwards became so conspicuous in England, identified himself with their cause. A furious controversy between the ministers and the Hutchinsonians took place. The former convened a synod, which, after declaring the orthodoxy of the New England church, proceeded to denounce Anne Hutchinson and her party, "as unfit for society," and to exile them from the province. The larger portion of the new sect, headed by William Coddington, in 1637 proceeded southward, and with the assistance of Roger Williams, succeeded in purchasing of the Narragansett Indians the picturesque little territory of Rhode Island. Another colony was thus founded, and Coddington was chosen as its governor. The broad principle of liberty of conscience was fully recognized in its constitution; it being agreed "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine."

The colonies of Providence and Rhode Island had not been secured a political existence by a charter from the mother country, and consequently were excluded from the colonial union of New England. The settlers, feeling that their existence as a separate province, depended on the protection of a charter, appointed Roger Williams in 1643, to proceed to England for the purpose of obtaining one. Sir Harry Vane, then an influential member of the Parliament, favoured the application, and through his exertions, a charter was obtained, incorporating the two colonies under the title of "RHODE ISLAND." The inhabitants of the new province now happily experienced the blessings of liberty of conscience. "We have not felt," they said in 1654, in an address to their patron Sir H. Vane, "the iron yoke of wolvish bishops, or the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor, in this colony, have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly Christian magistrate. We have not known what an excise means—we have almost forgotten what tithes are." Such was the happy experience of the early inhabitants of Rhode Island.

Returning again to the colonies of Massachusetts, we find, that in a few years after the Antinomians had been cast out,

Anabaptism sprang up, and disturbed the intolerant Puritan. The denying of infant baptism, and the holding of separate meetings, was called, "setting up an altar of their own against God's altar." "God forbid," said Dudley in his old age, "that we should tolerate errors." "To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience, is impious ignorance," said another." "Religion," responded the notorious priest, Norton, "admits of no eccentric notions." The conscientious Anabaptist shared no quarter, and fines, whippings, and finally, banishments, cleared Massachusetts of its Baptist population. How then can we wonder that in Puritanic New England, Quakerism should draw down a severer persecution?

The territory of NEW HAMPSHIRE was formed into a colony in 1622; its progress, however, was slow. The inhabitants were chiefly Puritans from Massachusetts, which claimed the right of jurisdiction over the district; and in 1642, it was annexed to that colony; but in 1679 it received a distinct charter, and became another province.

The valley of the Connecticut, by its alluvial fertility, early attracted settlers from Massachusetts. In 1635, a company of sixty of the Pilgrims emigrated in a body through the forests to this country, and in the following year, when still larger numbers found their way to it, the government of CONNECTICUT was established under the auspices of Winthrop. The fur trade, also, attracted many to settle on the banks of its noble river; these were chiefly Dutch from New Amsterdam. In 1662, the colony obtained a charter from Charles II. Soon after emigration to Connecticut had begun, a colony sprung up at New Haven, under Puritan auspices; it never, however, obtained a charter, but became incorporated with the former under one government.

The country comprehending the province of NEW YORK, appears to have been first visited by Henry Hudson in 1609, whilst in the employ of the Dutch. This enterprise led the Dutch nation to claim the country contiguous to the river which bears the name of this navigator; and, in the following year, some Amsterdam merchants traded with the Indians on the shores of Long Island Sound; and a few years later, some Dutch fur

traders took up their abode on the island of Manhattan. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company obtained a charter to plant colonies in America, and four years later, several dwellings of persons who came to prosecute the fur trade, were erected on the site of the present city of New York. Subsequently, all the country extending from Maryland to New England, was claimed by the Dutch. In colonizing this country, then called New Netherlands, the Dutch West India Company recognized religious toleration. "Let every peaceful citizen," wrote the directors from Amsterdam, "enjoy freedom of conscience; this maxim has made our city the asylum for fugitives from every land; tread in its steps and you shall be blessed."* The liberty thus allowed, attracted persons from different parts of Europe, and the Dutch colony soon became a home, not only for English, French, and Belgians, but also for Germans, Bohemians, Swiss, and Italians. The French protestants came in such numbers, that official documents were sometimes issued in their language, as well as in Dutch and English.† The enlightened legislation of New Netherlands, forms a bright spot in the colonization of America, and, but for the conduct of the Calvinistic Stuyvesant, its governor, in persecuting some Lutherans and Friends, religious toleration would have been complete within its limits. The duration of Dutch power in America, was, however, but short. In a war with the English in 1664, it was lost, and a dismemberment of New Netherlands followed the conquest. New York fell into the hands of James, the brother of Charles II., and the country east of the Delaware, was assigned to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, both proprietors in Carolina; and which now received the name of NEW JERSEY.

The colonization of DELAWARE begun in 1631, when about thirty Dutch people formed a settlement near Lewistown, and it became a separate colony. Before Europeans had planted themselves on the soil of Delaware, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had planned an enterprise for settling a colony of his people in the new world, and at his instance, a company was incor-

* Albany Records. † Ibid.

porated for the purpose. It was not, however, until 1638, that the Scandinavians found their way to the territory of Delaware. Their numbers, though small at first, gradually increased; and in 1654, they amounted to about seven hundred settlers. At this date they were conquered by the Dutch, and the colony came under the control of that people. The Swedish emigrants were protestants of considerable piety: they took much pains to educate their children, and lived on terms of peace with the aborigines. The country attracted a few English from New England, for the enlightened Gustavus desired that it should be open to "all oppressed Christendom."

The favourable accounts which the early settlers in Virginia gave of the fertility and resources of the western continent, increased the enthusiasm of the English for American plantations; and Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, a member of the Virginian company, and a man of ability and enterprise, shared largely in the feeling. He became a convert to Papacy, and, avowing his opinions, resigned his office of Secretary of State. Baltimore, on embracing the Romish faith, entertained the idea of emigrating to America, but the laws of Virginia excluded Papists from its territory. The country lying northward of the Potomac, being, however, yet untenanted by the English, in 1632 he applied for and obtained from Charles I. a grant of land, which he called MARYLAND, in honour of Henrietta Maria, the consort of the King. In framing the laws of the province, Lord Baltimore determined that no preference should be given to any sect. It became an asylum for Papists, but equality in religious rights, and civil freedom, were assured to all. Religious liberty was the basis adopted by the governor of Maryland. "I will not," said he in his oath, "by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion." The liberal institutions of the new colony, together with the fertility of the soil, attracted many adventurers; the lonely forests were soon converted into prosperous plantations, and both Protestants from Europe, and Puritans from New England, flocked in considerable numbers to the province. The troubles in the mother country between Charles I.

and the Parliament, were watched with much interest by the Papists of Maryland; and, fearing lest the ascendency of the latter, might endanger the religious privileges of the colony, they concluded in 1649, to pass an act, to protect freedom of conscience in matters of religion. Unhappily for Maryland, a dispute arose between Lord Baltimore and Clayborne, a resolute and enterprising man, who claimed a right to the province, on the plea of a grant from the Virginian company in 1631, and in which he was supported by many of the colonists. The conflicting claims of the two parties greatly divided the population, and sectarianism had no small influence in the controversy. The Puritans, who had been welcomed by the governor, and to whose liberal policy they were indebted for a home in the colony, threw their influence into the scale of the Clayborne party, and made it preponderate. The change which took place in the government of Maryland was followed by religious intolerance, and in a new assembly held in 1654, the Puritans, under the auspices of Clayborne, supported the passing of an act, which refused religious liberty to those who professed "popery or prelacy;" but the ungrateful enactment was never countenanced by Cromwell. Lord Baltimore, when he heard of these proceedings, became indignant, and resolved to vindicate his supremacy. The Puritans and Claybornites, however, took to arms, and repelling the forces of the governor, maintained their power until the restoration of the monarchy; when the authority of Baltimore was again recognized. The prosperity of Maryland was progressive; it had become famed as an asylum for the persecuted of every class and country, and emigrants from France, from Germany, from Holland, from Sweden, from Piedmont, and from Bohemia, sought its unsectarian soil. In that province, remarks a modern historian,* "the empire of justice and humanity had been complete, but for the sufferings of the people called Quakers."

Except the disastrous attempt on the Roanoke in 1587, under the auspices of the disappointed Raleigh, and the settlement in 1650 of some Virginian planters, and also a few years after them, of some New England men in the vicinity of Cape Fear, no

* Bancroft's United States.

attempts at colonization in CAROLINA appear to have been made by the English, until the year 1667.

But although the tide of emigration had been checked in this direction, by the failure of the early expeditions, the fertility of the southern lands of North America was still remembered ; and Carolina was constituted a province by a grant of Charles II. to some of his most influential courtiers. The great philosopher John Locke, who was intimately acquainted with the Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the proprietaries, undertook, at his solicitation, to frame a constitution for the new colony.

In laying down the form of its government, Locke evidently desired that aristocratic influence should be maintained in its councils, but he nevertheless supported religious toleration. An express clause in the charter opened the way for its recognition ; and religious freedom to "Jews, heathens, and other dissenters," to "men of any religion," was allowed to settlers in Carolina. The unsectarian constitution of the province was appreciated, and together with the fertility of the country, it attracted, not only English and Irish, but Dutch from New York and Holland ; persecuted Huguenots from France, and exiled Covenanters from Scotland.

The recognition of negro slavery in Locke's "constitutions" for the southern settlement, was, however, a deep blot upon his system, and promising and fruitful as the country appeared to be, the colony advanced slowly, and with difficulty. In North Carolina the settlers soon became uneasy under the political restraints of the government, and in 1680, the "constitutions" were abandoned, as inapplicable to men who sought a more popular government.

The colonists of South Carolina began also to feel that their rights were restricted by the legislation of Locke, and the proprietors seeing the futility of attempting to enforce it, entirely laid aside the scheme of the great philosopher. This was in the year 1693, the year preceding the election by the proprietors, of John Archdale, a Friend of Chipping Wycombe in Buckinghamshire, as governor of South Carolina. Under the management of "the peaceful Archdale," as he is termed, "the mediator between

factions," the province began to thrive, and the fame of Carolina, as "the American Canaan that flowed with milk and honey," increased. The colony, says its enlightened Quaker governor, "stood circumstanced with the honour of a true English government, zealous for the increase of virtue, as well as outward trade and business." The representatives of the freemen of the settlement, sensible of the cause of this happy change, declared that John Archdale "by his wisdom, and labour, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstructure,"* and voted him an address of thanks.

Having now included in our introductory pages, a condensed narrative of the discovery of the North American continent, and of the settlement of its several European colonies, down to nearly the end of the seventeenth century, it may not be amiss, before retiring from the subject, briefly to recapitulate the leading points of the history. We have seen that the attempts of the PORTUGUESE and of the SPANISH nations for territorial acquisitions in this portion of the western world, were failures; that the FRENCH, more successful in their endeavours, had formed settlements of considerable extent in the region now known as Canada; that the enterprising DUTCH had planted themselves in considerable numbers on the banks of the Hudson, and that protestant SWEDES, encouraged by Gustavus, their king, occupied both the right and left banks of the Delaware; but, we have also seen that to the enterprising exertions of the ENGLISH nation, the colonisation of this vast country is mainly attributable.

One of the chief objects in penning this introductory relation is to exhibit the moral and religious character of the several provinces at the time referred to, and also the degree of religious toleration which they individually recognised. VIRGINIA the earliest permanent settlement of the English, founded in 1607, was colonised by a class of men mostly of the high Anglican church, who proceeded to the new country with extravagant hopes of wealth. For the first half century they refused to allow the exercise of any religion other than Episcopacy; but, from the

* Assembly's Address in Archdale's Carolina, p. 18.

time of the Commonwealth, their views regarding religious toleration were modified, and excepting the law of 1658, for banishing Friends, which was enforced, in a few cases only, religious freedom prevailed in the colony. Next in succession followed the settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in MASSACHUSETTS. Professing to be the uncompromising opponents to Romish declension, and as such, to the pompous display and prelacy of the Anglican Church, they refused the introduction of Papacy and Episcopacy into their jurisdiction, and also every kind of religion, excepting Puritanism ; and in their zeal to uphold these views, they were led into great excesses of persecution. These remarks respecting the Puritans in Massachusetts will apply to those of CONNECTICUT, where the exclusive principle was also upheld and enforced. The colony of MARYLAND, the very antipodes of Puritanic New England as respects religious liberty, was commenced in 1633, under the auspices of Lord Baltimore, a leading papist ; but, contrary to the practices of his own church, and to both Episcopal Virginia and the Pilgrim Fathers, he allowed complete liberty of conscience. The result of his liberal policy was the influx of settlers of all shades of religious opinions. The intolerance of the Pilgrims of Massachusetts gave rise, in 1636, to the settlement on RHODE ISLAND. The occupiers of this delightful locality were men of enlightened minds. They had been persecuted and banished for their religion, and evinced their condemnation of these unchristian practices, by granting in their own jurisdiction entire religious freedom. Thirty years later, the same principle was still further extended in the new world, in the settlement of the CAROLINAS. The crowning example of religious freedom, and of enlightened Christian legislation in America, and indeed in the world at large, was, however, in the settlement of Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys, under the directing hand of William Penn. This interesting subject will be more appropriately treated upon in the future pages of this work, as it occurs in the order of time.

We see then, that, excepting Massachusetts and Connecticut, North America offered an asylum for the persecuted of every class, and for the people of every clime ; we cannot therefore wonder that its unsectarian soil became the resort, not only of English, and

Irish, and Scotch, but also of emigrants from almost every nation in Europe.

In studying the history of the Society of Friends, the observant reader, cannot, we think, fail to notice, that it was only in countries where the darkness of popery had been much dispelled, that its spiritual and enlightened views found steady acceptance. Although our early Friends were engaged in gospel labours in several of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe, we do not find that they were successful in the establishment of a single meeting, or except in a few cases, in obtaining an individual conversion to their principles; whilst on the other hand, in almost every Protestant nation in which they preached, communities were gathered, who professed and promulgated their doctrines. The Reformation, therefore, was instrumental in preparing the way for the introduction of Quakerism into Christendom. But enfranchised, as most of the settlers of the western world were, from the shackles of popery, and to a large extent from prelacy also; and consisting, as they did of considerable numbers of pious individuals, who had been driven from their respective countries for the cause of religion, the colonies of America presented a sphere peculiarly adapted for the reception of those high and enlightened views of christianity, which the Society of Friends were called to uphold, and to advocate among their fellow-men. Of the labours of their gospel messengers, and of the manner in which their principles were received in the new world, it will be the object of our future pages to treat.


A MAP OF
NEW ENGLAND
AND
NEW YORK,
IN 1686.
COLONY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS
COLONY OF CONNECTICUT
COLONY OF RHODE ISLAND
MAINE
Massachusetts Bay
Dover
Hampton
Salisbury
Marblehead
Cape Ann
Cambridge
BOSTON
Dedham
Plymouth
Cape Cod
Hadley
Windsor
Hartford
Thames R.
New London
Fishers I.
Block I.
Point Juda
Newport
Portsmouth
Rochester
Sandwich
Barnstaple
Nantucket
LONG ISLAND SOUND
LONG ISLAND
Hempstead
Gardiners I.
River Hudson
Connecticut River
Merrimac R.
Piscataqua R.
Saco
Wells
York
Chelmsford
Springfield
Taunton
Duxbury
Marshfield
Rehoboth
Providence
Warwick

CHAPTER II.

The rise of the Society of Friends—George Fox's brief narrative respecting it—Mary Fisher and Anne Austin visit Barbadoes and New England—Fac-simile of a letter from Mary Fisher to George Fox—The prejudice of the Puritans against Friends—Mary Fisher and Anne Austin reach Boston—Their trunks are searched for Quaker books—A special council of the magistrates of Boston convened—They issue an order for the imprisonment and banishment of the two Friends—Their books are burnt—They are searched as witches—Are banished, and sent to Barbadoes—Letter of Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, from Barbadoes—Sketch of the life of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin.

The rise of the religious Society of Friends appears from the most authentic data to have taken place in 1644; the year in which some piously-disposed persons, residing in Leicestershire, one of the midland counties of England, first associated themselves in religious profession with George Fox. For about seven years from this period, the Society had not extended much beyond a few of the neighbouring counties, including Yorkshire. In a brief account given by George Fox of "the spreading of truth," he thus notices the early progress of the Society. "The truth sprang up first to us, so as to be a people to the Lord, in Leicestershire in 1644, in Warwickshire in 1645, in Nottinghamshire in 1646, in Derbyshire in 1647, and in the adjacent counties in 1648, 1649, and 1650; in Yorkshire in 1651."* The year 1652 was marked by a very considerable enlargement of the Society, and many individuals, who became eminent instruments in the hand of the Lord for the promotion of his holy cause, united with the new association. At this date it numbered

* Journal of George Fox, Leeds Ed., vol. ii. p. 465.

twenty-five ministers, by whom, remarks George Fox, "multitudes were convinced." The ministry of these gospel labourers, during this and the subsequent year, was principally confined to the northern and midland portions of the kingdom ; but in 1654, we find Quaker ministers travelling in nearly all the counties of England and Wales, and in parts of Scotland and Ireland, whilst the establishment of meetings had taken place in most parts of the nation. There were now no fewer than sixty engaged in the work of the ministry, and their labours were followed with signal success ; a convincing power attended them in these engagements, which impressed awful considerations, and awakened the slumbering consciences of their audiences to an earnest desire for the salvation of their souls. "Their preaching," says an historian, "was in the demonstration of the Spirit and with power ; multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrines."*

Deeply sensible, as were the early Friends, of the spirituality and importance of the views which they had embraced, and of their entire accordance with the doctrines and precepts of Christ, they longed for their universal reception ; and, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, their hearts were warmed in gospel love to their fellow-men every where. Having themselves felt the efficacy of the free teaching of Christ, they were drawn to invite others to the same blessed experience, and "come, taste and see that the Lord is good," was the emphatic language of their souls. Enlightened by the Sun of Righteousness, they were given to see, that great darkness and deadness in religion had overspread professing Christendom. They deeply lamented the departure from the primitive purity and simplicity of the true church, which so generally prevailed, and under an apprehension of a call from on high, many, at a very early period of the Society's progress, travelled in distant lands to preach the glad tidings of peace and salvation, through Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Under these impressions, we find that in 1655, some had passed over to the European continent, while Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, feeling

* Gough's History of Friends, vol. i. p. 143.

My deare father

lett mee not bee forgotten of thee but lett thy praerse bee for mee that I may contenue faithfull to the end if aney of our frendes bee free to com over thay may bee servisabell here is many convinsed & many desire to know the way so I rest

Mary ffisher

from the Barbados the 30 day of the month called January

for Gorge ffoxe

thes deliver

their minds drawn to visit the western world, proceeded to the island of Barbadoes; and from thence in the spring of 1656, to New England. "In 1655," says George Fox, "many went beyond sea, where truth also sprang up; and in 1656, it broke forth in America."*

Soon after the arrival of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin at Barbadoes, the former addressed a letter to George Fox. The original is still in existence, and we insert the following extract from it, as of historical interest at this early date:—

MARY FISHER TO GEORGE FOX.

MY DEAR FATHER,

—— Let me not be forgotten of thee, but let thy prayers be for me that I may continue faithful to the end. If any of our Friends be free to come over, they may be serviceable; here are many convinced, and many desire to know the way, so I rest.

From the Barbadoes the 30th day of the month called January, [*Eleventh Month, O. S.*] 1655.

It has been observed, in the preceding chapter, that there existed in some parts of New England, more especially in the state of Massachusetts, a spirit of great intolerance and persecution. Confident in the notion of their own righteousness and in that profession of religion which subjected their ancestors to so much cruelty in the mother country, and which ultimately drove the Pilgrim Fathers to seek a refuge in the American wilderness, the Puritans of New England unhappily cherished a disposition inimical to religious freedom. They contended for the right of judging in spiritual things, and bore their testimony against prelacy and whatever else they deemed to be error, but all dissent from their own doctrines they held to be heresy. Very early after the rise of Friends in Great Britain, many of them had to undergo much suffering and oppression from both priests and

* Journal of George Fox, Leeds Ed., vol. ii. p. 465.

rulers. Episcopacy was at that time no longer the acknowledged religion of the state. The pulpits were occupied both by Presbyterians and Independents. Between the civil and ecclesiastical powers at home therefore, and those of New England, there was at this period, a great identity of feeling, and that desire for the establishment of uniformity in religion, which prompted the Presbyterians to endeavour to set up a consistory in every parish throughout England,* found its ample response in the bosoms of the bigoted rulers of Massachusetts.

Striking, as the principles of the Society of Friends do, at the very foundation of hierarchical systems, and all distinctions between laity and clergy, they met with vehement opposition from almost every class of religious professors, and both Royalist and Parliamentarian joined in common cause to oppress them. Their enemies, not content with persecuting this despised people for sentiments which they really held and preached, endeavoured, by an enormous amount of misrepresentation, to raise a prejudice against them in the minds of those who had not an opportunity of judging for themselves. The distorted accounts† which were industriously circulated respecting them, had, at a very early period of their history, reached the remotest settlements of the British empire; and, as it regards the American colonists, had produced among them not only a settled prejudice against Friends, but also a deep-rooted repugnance to the spiritual views which they advocated. The manner in which this feeling was manifested in Puritan New England, will be shewn in the subsequent pages.

It was in the early part of the Fifth Month, 1656, that Mary Fisher and Anne Austin arrived at Boston, and their approach appears to have caused no inconsiderable degree of consternation to the authorities of Massachusetts Bay. The news of the arrival of the two strangers had no sooner reached the ears of Bellingham, the deputy governor, the governor himself being absent, than, in his zeal to avert the dreaded introduction of

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iii. p. 24, Ed. 1795.

† See "Heretical Quakers deluded by the Devil," in "A Mirror or Looking Glass," by Samuel Clark; Edition of 1656.

heretical doctrines into the colony, he forthwith ordered that the two Friends should be detained on board the ship in which they came, and that their trunks should be searched for any printed works which they might have brought. These orders were strictly carried out; they were kept closely confined in the vessel, and about one hundred books were taken from them, and committed to the custody of the officers. On this "extraordinary occasion," as the historian Neal terms it,* the magistrates of Boston took the alarm; and, as if the town were threatened with some imminent danger, by the arrival of two quiet and harmless English women, a special council was convened, whose deliberations terminated in the issue of the following order:—

"*At a council held at Boston*, 11*th July*, 1656,—

"Whereas, there are several laws long since made and published in this jurisdiction, bearing testimony against heretics and erroneous persons; yet, notwithstanding, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, master of the ship *Swallow* of Boston, hath brought into this jurisdiction, from the island of Barbadoes, two women, who name themselves Anne, the wife of one Austin, and Mary Fisher, being of that sort of people commonly known by the name of Quakers, who, upon examination are found not only to be transgressors of the former laws, but to hold very dangerous, heretical, and blasphemous opinions; and they do also acknowledge that they came here purposely to propagate their said errors and heresies, bringing with them and spreading here sundry books, wherein are contained most corrupt, heretical, and blasphemous doctrines, contrary to the truth of the gospel here professed amongst us. The council therefore, tendering the preservation of the peace and truth, enjoyed and professed among the churches of Christ in this country, do hereby order:

"*First.* That all such corrupt books as shall be found upon search to be brought in and spread by the aforesaid persons, be forthwith burned and destroyed by the common executioner.

"*Secondly.* That the said Anne and Mary be kept in close

* Neal's History of New England, vol. i. p. 292.

prison, and none admitted communication with them without leave from the governor, deputy governor, or two magistrates, to prevent the spreading their corrupt opinions, until such time as they be delivered aboard of some vessel, to be transported out of the country.

"*Thirdly.* The said Simon Kempthorn is hereby enjoined, speedily and directly, to transport or cause to be transported, the said persons from hence to Barbadoes, from whence they came, he defraying all the charges of their imprisonment; and for the effectual performance hereof, he is to give security in a bond of £100. sterling, and on his refusal to give such security, he is to be committed to prison till he do it."

In the extraordinary proceedings of the council of Boston in passing this order, we see the first deliberate act of the rulers of New England in their corporate capacity, towards Friends. The instructions thus issued were not only rigorously, but even barbarously enforced. Mary Fisher and Anne Austin were brought on shore and confined in the dismal gaol of Boston, whilst their books were committed to the flames by the hands of the executioner. "Oh, learned and malicious cruelty!" remarks one who was soon after a prisoner in Boston for his Quaker's principles,* "as if another man had not been sufficient to burn a few harmless books, which, like their masters, can neither fight, strike, nor quarrel." The authorities, in their determination to prevent the "heretical doctrines" from spreading among the settlers, threatened to inflict a penalty of £5. on any one who should even attempt to converse with the Friends through the window of their prison; subsequently they had it boarded up as an additional security, and not deeming these precautionary measures sufficient, they next deprived the prisoners of their writing materials.

The order of the council was severe, but the revolting treatment to which these harmless women were afterwards exposed, was a still greater outrage upon humanity. For some years pre-

* Humphrey Norton.

ceding, a delusion of a most extraordinary and alarming character, in reference to the subject of witches, had unhappily taken hold on the minds of the colonists of New England, and several persons had already been put to death under the charge of witchcraft. Two had been executed at Boston, one in 1648, and another, Bellingham's own sister-in-law, but a few months before the arrival of the two strangers. Whether the persecutors of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, were really designing the death of the victims of their bigotry, and in effecting it were endeavouring to avoid offering violence to the feelings of the community, we know not, but the cry of witchcraft was now raised against them. They were accordingly subjected to a close examination, but no overt act in substantiation of the malignant charge, could be adduced. The authorities, thus foiled in their wicked purpose, next subjected them to an indecent and cruel examination of their persons, to see if some marks of witchcraft were not upon them, under the popular superstitious notion, that some distinctive sign would be found on the bodies of those who had thus sold themselves to Satan. It would have been a fearful thing had any mark or mole of a peculiar kind been apparent, but nothing of the sort was to be found, and they thus escaped an ignominious death.

The magistrates, baffled in their wicked design, now refused to furnish their prisoners with provisions, or even to allow the citizens of Boston to do so; but He who fed Elijah in the wilderness, and who careth for His saints under every variety of circumstance, was near to help. An aged inhabitant of the city, touched with compassion for their sufferings, bribed the gaoler, by giving him five shillings a week, to allow him privately to administer to their wants.

After an imprisonment of nearly five weeks, and the loss of their beds and their bible, which the gaoler took for his fees, Mary Fisher and Anne Austin, were sent on board the vessel in which they came, and which was now about to sail to Barbadoes, the captain being bound, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, to carry them to that island, and to prevent their either landing in New England, or in any way communicating with its people.

The date of their banishment from Boston, was the 5th of the Sixth Month, 1656. Kempthorn, the captain, submitted to the arbitrary requisition of the council; and, it is supposed, paid for the returning passage of the two Friends to Barbadoes. Whilst these proceedings were going forward, Endicot, the governor, was in another part of the colony; and to his absence from Boston may be attributed the escape of Mary Fisher, and her companion, from a cruelty of another kind. "If I had been present," said this persecuting Puritan, on hearing the course adopted towards them, "I would have had them well whipped." This was that Endicot who afterwards made himself so conspicuous in the New England persecutions. The following unpublished letter in the Swarthmore collection of manuscripts, written by Henry Fell, who visited Barbadoes about this time, contains an account of the arrival of the banished Friends at that island, and will probably be read with interest.

Henry Fell to Margaret Fell.

Barbadoes, *the 3rd day of ye Ninth Month*, (56).

My Dearly Beloved,

In the Lord Jesus Christ, my dear love salutes thee.—

I landed here upon the Barbadoes the 7th day of the Eighth Month, in the afternoon, and that night went to a Friend's house in the country, six miles off, (a widow woman), where I was gladly received. She told me that Peter Head, John Rous, and Mary Fisher, were gone from the island the day before, (for any thing she knew); but it proved otherwise, for the next morning I went to Indian-Bridge, where they were to have taken shipping for the Leeward Islands, namely Nevis and Antego, about eighty or ninety leagues from their place; but I found them not gone, for the shipping that should have carried them had deceived them. And truly I was much refreshed and strengthened by finding of them there. They continued here about fourteen days after I came hither, before they got shipping from hence, in which time we had several meetings amongst Friends, and so they passed away. I know nothing of their return hither

again, for they could say little of it, or which way they should be disposed of. Mary Fisher, (and one Anne Austin, who is lately come from England,) had been here before, and went from hence to New England, where they were put in prison, and very cruelly used and searched as witches, and their books taken from them and burnt, and none suffered to come to speak to them, while they were in prison : for there was a fine of five pounds laid upon any one that should come to see them in prison, or should conceal any of their books. Notwithstanding, there was one man came to the prison, and proffered to pay the fine that he might speak with them, but could not be admitted ; so, afterwards, they were sent aboard again, and not suffered any liberty at all ashore, and so were brought again to Barbadoes, from whence they came by order from the Governor of New England. Truly Mary Fisher is a precious heart, and hath been very serviceable here ; so likewise have John Rous and Peter Head, and the Lord hath given a blessing to their labours, for the fruits thereof appear, for here are many people convinced of the truth, (among whom the Lord is placing his name), who meet together in silence, in three several places in the island ; and the Lord is adding more, such as shall be saved.

Hen: Fell.*

As it will be interesting to know something further of the history of Mary Fisher, and Anne Austin, being the first who landed on the American continent to promulgate the doctrines of

* Henry Fell was an eminent minister in the Society. In 1656, he proceeded on a visit to some of the West India Islands, and again in 1658. During the first visit, he was absent from home about one year. From 1659 to 1662, he was mostly engaged in gospel labours in England, and from this period we lose all trace of him. He is mentioned in Whiting's Catalogue as having died in America ; but in what part, or at what time, we are uninformed. His home was in Lancashire, and there is reason to believe that he was a near relative of Judge Fell. He appears to have received an education considerably above most of his day.

Friends, the present chapter will conclude with a brief sketch of their lives, as far as historical materials permit.

Mary Fisher was born in the north of England about the year 1623, and at a very early period of the Society's progress in that part, joined in profession with it, but of the precise date and circumstance of her convincement we have no record. She was one who possessed talents much above the average of her sex, and "whose intellectual faculties," observes an early writer, "were greatly adorned by the gravity of her deportment."* Her residence at the time of her convincement it is believed was at Pontefract in Yorkshire. She came forth as a minister of the gospel in 1652, and in the same year we find her imprisoned within York Castle, for addressing an assembly at the close of public worship at Selby; an imprisonment which lasted sixteen months.† Almost immediately on her release from this long confinement, she proceeded on a gospel mission to the south-eastern parts of England, in company with Elizabeth Williams, a fellow-labourer in the ministry. Two females thus travelling from county to county, publicly preaching the doctrines of the new Society in parts where hitherto its name had scarcely been known, must have excited no small surprise in the people amongst whom they came. They passed, however, without molestation through the country, until the Tenth Month, 1653, when they arrived at Cambridge. To the students at this seat of learning, the presence of itinerant preachers appeared an absurdity, but that Quaker women should attempt to preach in Cambridge, was, in their estimation, a still greater presumption. Mary Fisher and her friend, faithful to their call, "discoursed about the things of God" with the young students, and "preached at Sidney College gate" to the inmates of that establishment. But the doctrine of the freedom of gospel ministry, and the disuse of all ceremonial observances in religion, appeared to the letter-learned collegians mere jargon, and they began to mock and deride the two strangers as religious fanatics, whilst the mayor of the town, eager to support the orthodoxy of his church, ordered them to be taken to the

* Gerard Croese's History of the Quakers. Book second, p. 124.

† Besse's Sufferings of the People called Quakers. Vol. ii. p. 89.

market cross, and whipped, "until the blood ran down their bodies;"* a sentence which was executed with much barbarity. Before they had been tied to the whipping-post, in presence of the gazing multitude, these innocent women, at the footstool of divine mercy, sought forgiveness for their persecutors. The scene was altogether new and strange to the spectators, and they were astonished on beholding the Christian patience and constancy which characterized the conduct of the sufferers, and more especially when they heard them pray that their persecutors might be pardoned. The first imprisonment of a Friend, was that of George Fox, at Nottingham, in 1649. He had also, with several others of his fellow professors, borne much personal abuse: but it was not until Mary Fisher and her companion visited Cambridge, that any were publicly scourged. On this occasion Mary Fisher, under a presentiment of the troubles that awaited Friends, was heard to say, "this is but the beginning of the sufferings of the people of God."†

Towards the close of 1653, she felt called to "declare the truth in the steeple-house" at Pontefract, an act of dedication for which she was immured six months within the walls of York Castle. In the following year, she was subjected, by the Mayor of Pontefract, to three months additional confinement in this fortress, because she was "unrepentant" for addressing the assembly at Pontefract, "and for refusing to give sureties for her good behaviour." In 1655, we find her travelling in the ministry in Buckinghamshire, where she again for some months became the inmate of a prison, for "giving Christian exhortations to the priest and people."‡ It was also during 1655, that Mary Fisher felt a religious call to leave the shores of her native country, for the West India Islands, and North America. The date of her return from the western world was probably in the early part of 1657. During the same year she again visited the West Indies. In 1658, we trace her at Nevis.§ In 1660, under an impression of religious duty to visit Sultan Mahomet IV., she performed a long and arduous journey to the continent of Asia. After

* Besse's Sufferings, vol. i. p. 85. † Ibid, vol. ii. p. 85.

‡ MS. Sufferings of Friends. § Besse's Sufferings, vol. ii. p. 352.

visiting Italy, Zante, Corinth, and Smyrna, she at last reached Adrianople; where the Sultan was encamped with his army. Her interview with this great Asiatic monarch, and the courteous manner in which she was received by him, are circumstances so well known, as to render it unnecessary for us to refer more particularly to them. On leaving the court of this Mahommedan potentate, she proceeded to Constantinople, from whence she took her departure for England.

Soon after Mary Fisher had returned from the east, she was united in marriage with William Bayley of Poole, in Dorsetshire, an eminent minister in the Society. The marriage took place in the early part of 1662. William Bayley was by occupation a mariner, and occasionally made voyages to the West Indies, but he died when at sea, in the Fourth Month, 1675. Of the issue of this marriage we have no record; we find, however, that Sophia Hume, a ministering Friend of extraordinary character, was the grand-daughter of William and Mary Bayley.* In the Seventh Month, 1678, Mary Bayley was united in marriage with John Cross of London.†

How long John Cross and his wife resided in London after their union, does not appear, but, following the example of many other Friends of that day, they emigrated to America. In 1697, we find Mary a second time a widow, residing at Charlestown in South Carolina. Robert Barrow, after his providential escape from shipwreck on the coast of Florida, whilst travelling in the ministry, was conveyed by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, to Charlestown, where he became her welcome guest. Writing to his wife from this place, after mentioning the severe illness he had endured, arising from his privations, he thus speaks of his kind hostess: "At length we arrived at Ashley River, and it pleased God, I had the great fortune to have a good nurse, one whose name you have heard of, a Yorkshire woman, born within two miles of York; her maiden name was Mary Fisher, she that spake to the great Turk; afterwards William Bayley's wife. She

* Yearly Meeting of London MS. Testimonies concerning deceased ministers.

† Minutes of the "Two Weeks' Meeting" of London, vol. i. p. 118.

is now my landlady and nurse. She is a widow of a second husband, her name is now Mary Cross.*

At the date of Robert Barrow's letter, the age of Mary Cross could not have been much under seventy years. Since she left the shores of Britain for New England, forty-one years had elapsed. She doubtless finished her earthly course at Charlestown, but we regret that hitherto we have been unable to meet with any particulars of the close of her eventful life, or of the date when it took place. We may, however, reverently believe, that she was not unprepared for the solemn summons; and that she has entered into that rest, and enjoys that crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge giveth unto all those that love his appearing.

Respecting ANNE AUSTIN we have but few particulars to narrate. At the time of her visit to New England, she was mentioned as one "stricken in years,"† and as being the mother of five children. Her residence it appears was in the city of London. Expelled from Boston, she was carried with her companion Mary Fisher, to Barbadoes. Her stay on that island was not a prolonged one; as we find the expenses of her returning passage to England, included in the accounts of the Society for 1656-7. Continuing faithful in her high calling as a minister of Christ, Anne Austin, on her return to her native land, had to feel the persecuting hands of ungodly men; and thus one of the filthy gaols of London in 1659, became her abode, for exercising her gift in the assemblies of her own Society. From the time of her imprisonment at this date, to that of her decease, no incident is recorded of this dedicated woman. Her death occurred during the awful visitation of 1665, by which 100,000 of the inhabitants of London were called from time to eternity. The burial register of the Society states, that she died in the Sixth Month, 1665, of the plague, and was interred at Bunhill-fields; and we doubt not but that she was called to receive that reward, which is the sure inheritance of all the faithful in Christ.

* MS. Letter of R. Barrow to his wife, dated Twelfth Month, 1696-7.

† Gerard Croese's History of the Quakers, book ii. p. 124.

CHAPTER III.

Eight Ministers of the Society arrive at Boston from London—Their trunks are searched—They are committed to prison and sentenced to banishment—The captain who brought them, bound over to take them back to England—The magistrates take measures to legalize their persecuting proceedings—A law is enacted for banishing Friends from the colony of Boston—Nicholas Upshal testifies against the law—He is arrested, fined, imprisoned, and banished—He seeks refuge within the colony of Plymouth, and winters there—Is banished thence, and proceeds to Rhode Island.

In the expulsion of Friends from New England, the rulers of Boston had evidently much underrated the task which they had unhappily imposed upon themselves; and well would it have been for their country had their actions responded to the advice given by Gamaliel, in reference to the preaching of the Apostles at Jerusalem, when the Jews sought to slay them: "Refrain from these men, and let them alone, for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it."* Scarcely had the ship, which bore the two messengers of the gospel from the shores of Massachusetts, bent her course towards the Carribbean sea, when another vessel from London, having on board eight other Friends, arrived in Boston Bay. These were Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Thomas Thurston, William Brend, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh.† The date of their

* Acts v. 38.

† In a letter of John Audland's to Margaret Fell, written during 1655, from Bristol, we find the following remark in reference to some of these. "Many are raised up and moved for several parts; there are four from hereaway moved to go for New England, two men and two women; some are gone for France, and some for Holland." The cir-

arrival was the 7th of the Sixth Month, 1656, being only two days after the departure of Mary Fisher and Anne Austin. "They had been brought here," they said, "in the will of God, having been made sensible of the cries and groans of his seed, which was crying unto him for help and deliverance under cruel bondage."*

The master of the vessel, almost immediately on his arrival, furnished the governor with a list of his passengers, and when it was known that eight of them were Quakers from England, with Richard Smith an inhabitant of Long Island, who professed with them, officers were forthwith sent on board with a warrant, commanding them "to search the boxes, chests, and trunks of the Quakers, for erroneous books and hellish pamphlets,"† and also to bring the Friends before the court then sitting at Boston. The orders being promptly executed, the Friends were subjected to a long and frivolous examination, mostly in reference to their belief in the nature of the Divine Being, and concerning the Scriptures. Respecting the latter, one of the priests contended, on the authority of the passage in the second epistle of Peter, i. 19, which alludes to "the more sure word of prophecy," that the Scriptures were the only rule and guide of life. The priest during the discussion, finding it difficult to maintain his position, began to admit more than was in accordance with the views of some of the magistrates, on which much dissension arose among them to the no small alarm and consternation of the priest. Long as the examination had been, the court was nevertheless desirous to resume it on the following day; the Friends were therefore committed to prison for the night, and brought up again on the following morning. The subjects upon which the prisoners were now interrogated, being those which they had

cumstance is also thus alluded to in a letter of Francis Howgill's, written a few months later. "Four from London and four from Bristol, are gone towards New England; pretty hearts; the blessing of the Lord is with them, and his dread goes before them."—*Caton's Collection of MSS.*

* Humphrey Norton's New England's Ensign, p. 7. † Ibid, p. 8.

discussed on the previous day, they declined replying, except by referring the magistrates to their former answers, which had been all carefully taken down. They then demanded to know why they had been arrested, and deprived of their liberty. Endicot, who had returned from the country, evading an answer to the question, replied, "Take heed ye break not *our ecclesiastical laws*, for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter."*

Notwithstanding the intolerant course pursued by the priests and magistrates on this occasion, it must not be supposed that the proceedings met with the sanction of the inhabitants generally; and it is only proper to add that the language of their governor gave rise to very intelligible marks of dissatisfaction. At the close of the examination, a sentence of banishment was pronounced upon the prisoners, instructions being issued for the close confinement of the eight English Friends, until the ship in which they came should be ready to return. Richard Smith, the Friend of Long Island, they determined should be sent home by sea, rather than by the shorter and more convenient way by land; these bigoted rulers considering it needful to use all precautionary means to prevent the "Quaker heretics" from even passing through their country.

The authorities having taken so summary a course against the Friends, now sent for the master of the vessel in which they came, in order to make him give bond in the sum of £500.† for conveying them to England at his own cost. The honest seaman, feeling that he had violated no law of his country, in having brought her free-born inhabitants to this part of her dominions, refused to comply with the arbitrary requisition. His opposition, however, proved unavailing; an imprisonment of four days sufficed to overcome his feelings of independence, and to reduce him to submission.

The authorities of Boston, anxious in their zeal to adopt every mode to secure the colony from the influence of Quakerism, issued the following order to the keeper of the prison:—

"You are, by virtue hereof, to keep the Quakers formerly

* New England Judged, by George Bishop, p. 10.

† Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 197.

committed to your custody as dangerous persons, industrious to improve all their abilities to seduce the people of this jurisdiction, both by words and letters, to the abominable tenets of the Quakers, and to keep them close prisoners, not suffering them to speak or confer with any person, nor permitting them to have paper or ink.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

August the 18th, 1656.

Subsequently, the gaoler was also ordered "to search, as often as he saw meet, the boxes, chests and things of the Quakers formerly committed to his custody, for pen, ink and paper, papers and books, and to take them from them."*

The extraordinary course, which the rulers of Massachusetts had taken in the prosecution of Friends, was not only in opposition to the laws of the mother country, but also without sanction from any of those of the colony. The authorities of Boston, eager as they were in the work of persecution, were not blind to their position in this respect; and hence we find them anxiously endeavouring to promote measures for legalizing their wicked proceedings. On the 2nd of the Seventh Month, 1656, the governor and magistrates of the Boston patent assembled, and prepared a letter addressed to "The Commissioners of the United Provinces," who were about to meet at Plymouth; in which they recommended, "That some generall rules may bee comended to each Generall Court, to prevent the coming in amongst us from foraigne places such notorious heretiques, as Quakers, Ranters, &c." The subject having been thus brought before the commissioners, the sanction of that body was obtained for framing a law, to justify the course which the rulers at Boston had pursued, and to legalize future intolerance. They agreed to "propose to the several Generall Courts, that all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretiques bee prohibited coming into the United Colonies; and if any shall hereafter come or arise amongst us, that they bee forthwith secured or removed out of all the jurisdictions."

* Besse, vol. ii. p. 179.

Encouraged by the recommendation of the Commissioners, the authorities at Boston soon passed a law for the banishment of Friends from their territory. This persecuting enactment was the first in America specially directed against the Society. It is as follows: —

"*At a General Court held at Boston the 14th of October*, 1656.

"Whereas, there is a cursed sect of *heretics* lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of God in the church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways. This court, taking into consideration the premises, and to prevent the like mischief, as by their means is wrought in our land, doth hereby order, and by authority of this court, be it ordered and enacted, that what master, or commander of any ship, bark, pink, or ketch, shall henceforth bring into any harbour, creek or cove, within this jurisdiction, any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics, shall pay or cause to be paid, the fine of one hundred pounds to the treasurer of the country, except it appear he want true knowledge or information of their being such, and in that case he hath liberty to clear himself by his oath, when sufficient proof to the contrary is wanting: and for default of good payment, or good security for it, shall be cast into prison, and there to continue till the said sum be satisfied to the Treasurer as aforesaid. And the commander of any ketch, ship or vessel, being legally convicted, shall give in sufficient security to the governor, or any one or more of the magistrates, who have power to determine the same, to carry them back to the place whence he brought them, and on his refusal so to do, the governor, or one or more of the magistrates, are hereby empowered to issue out his or their warrants, to commit such master or commander to prison, there to continue till he give in sufficient security to the content of the governor, or any of the magistrates aforesaid. And it is

hereby further ordered and enacted, That what Quaker soever shall arrive in this country from foreign parts, or shall come into this jurisdiction from any parts adjacent, shall be forthwith committed to the house of correction, and, at their entrance, to be severely whipped, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them during the time of their imprisonment, which shall be no longer than necessity requires. And it is ordered, If any person shall knowingly import into any harbour of this jurisdiction any Quaker books, or writings concerning their devilish opinions, shall pay for such book or writing, being legally proved against him or them, the sum of five pounds; and whosoever shall disperse or conceal any such book, or writing, and it be found with him or her, or in his or her house, and shall not immediately deliver the same to the next magistrate, shall forfeit or pay five pounds for the dispersing or concealing of every such book or writing. And it is hereby further enacted, That if any person within this colony shall take upon them to defend the heretical opinions of the Quakers, or any of their books or papers as aforesaid, if legally proved, shall be fined for the first time forty shillings; if they shall persist in the same, and shall again defend it the second time, four pounds; if notwithstanding they shall again defend and maintain the said Quakers' heretical opinions, they shall be committed to the house of correction till there be convenient passage to send them out of the land, being sentenced by the court of assistants to banishment. Lastly, it is hereby ordered, That what person or persons soever shall revile the persons of magistrates or ministers, as is usual with the Quakers, such person or persons shall be severely whipped, or pay the sum of five pounds.

"This is a true copy of the court's order, as attests

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*"

The passing of the foregoing law in the usual way, together with its official recognition on the statute books of the colony, was, in the estimation of its advocates, too quiet a mode of disposing of the measure. It was important in their view that the settlers of Massachusetts should be thoroughly impressed with

the fearful character of the "cursed sect," and the dangerous consequences to which they would be exposed, if such "blasphemous heretics" were permitted to come amongst them. With beat of drum, therefore, in order to arouse the attention of the inhabitants, the law in question, was in a few days publicly proclaimed in the streets of Boston, producing a degree of excitement and commotion, to which the city had hitherto been much a stranger.

Turning again to the imprisoned Friends, we find as the time for their embarkation approached, that the officers under the provisions of another warrant, made a distraint on the goods of the prisoners for the payment of the gaoler's fees, in pursuance of which all their bedding was taken. In this state, unprepared for a voyage across the wide Atlantic, the sufferers were inhumanly thrust on board the vessel now about to sail, and had not their goods been kindly redeemed by some of the inhabitants, who were touched with sympathy for them in their distress—they would have been forced away, thus unprovided, from the shores of America. After an imprisonment of about eleven weeks, and in the Eighth Month, 1656, the Friends were borne off from Boston, and after crossing the ocean in safety, they landed at London. Thus ended the second attempt of members of the Society to preach the gospel on the continent of the western world.

The preceding details of Puritan persecution in New England, relate to the treatment of those, who came as strangers to that country. Our attention will now be directed to cruelties practised towards colonists, who had been convinced that the principles of the banished Friends, harmonized with the doctrines and precepts of Christ. In the relation of the treatment which Mary Fisher and Anne Austin received at Boston, allusion is made to the christian conduct of an aged inhabitant of the place, in supplying those persecuted women with provisions during their imprisonment. This individual was Nicholas Upshal, whose sufferings we have now to record, under the conscientious testimony which he bore, against the wicked and arbitrary proceedings of his countrymen. He had "long been an inhabitant and freeman of

Boston," was a zealous and faithful christian, and one, who, from his earlier years, had been held in much esteem, as a man of "sober and unblameable conversation." He had been a Puritan in religious profession, and in the prosperity of the particular congregation to which he belonged, he had been deeply interested for a long series of years. But the forms and ceremonies of his church had for some time past been burdensome to him. He had felt their insufficiency to satisfy the soul in its longing and thirsting after God; and he was prepared to receive more spiritual views of religious truth. When therefore, he found on inquiry, that the views of the persecuted strangers, who renounced all outward observances in religion, pointed emphatically to the inward appearance of Christ, as the consolation and strength of the Christian, and as the leader and guide of his people everywhere, they met with a response in his bosom, and "he was much refreshed."*

The cruel law enacted in New England against Friends, and which had been ostentatiously announced to the citizens of Boston by beat of drum, deeply affected the mind of this good man. Being "grieved at the heart," therefore, under the impression that these unrighteous actions would be followed by the just judgments of the Most High, when the proclamation of the law was made before his own door, he felt constrained to raise his voice in public disapprobation of the act. He was anxious that his fellow-citizens might know that he disclaimed any participation in proceedings utterly at variance with the character of true religion. The conscientious course pursued by the venerable colonist, was viewed by the self-righteous rulers as a grave offence against their authority, and one which required the marked severity of the court. On the following morning, therefore, he was cited to appear before them, to answer the charge preferred against him, "for having expressed his disapprobation of the law against Quakers." Thus arraigned, Nicholas Upshal, "in much tenderness and love," pleaded with his fellow-citizens on the iniquitous course they were pursuing, and warned them "to take heed lest they should be found fighting against God."† The

* Norton's Ensign, p. 12. † Ibid, p. 13.

magistrates were untouched by his appeal, and in their determination to crush any questioning of their acts, fined, imprisoned, and banished him from the colony. The fine was twenty pounds, and the time allowed him to prepare for his expatriation was only thirty days, four of which he passed in prison. He was also subjected to an additional fine of three pounds, for not attending the usual place of worship, while under sentence of banishment.

The time had arrived when Nicholas Upshal was to bid a final farewell to a city, memorable to himself, and others of the older inhabitants, as a place of refuge, which, through many trials and difficulties, they had sought in the wilds of the western world, from "persecution at home." The weak and "aged" colonist leaving his wife and children, towards the close of the Tenth Month, proceeded southward in the hope of finding a shelter at Sandwich, within the colony of Plymouth. The governor of this colony, had it appears, been apprised of his intention, and, desiring to assist in driving Quakers from Massachusetts, had issued a warrant, forbidding any of the people of Sandwich to entertain him. The inhabitants of the town, however, were not disposed to close their doors on the distressed, many of them had too much regard for the precepts of Christianity, to abandon the houseless and aged stranger to the inclemencies of a wintry season; and Nicholas Upshal found a ready home amongst them. But the hospitality of the kind-hearted people of Sandwich, displeased their governor, who, desirous of having this victim of priestly intolerance more immediately within his grasp, issued a special warrant for his appearance before him at Plymouth. The coldness of the winter, together with the precarious state of Nicholas Upshal's health, would, he believed, endanger his life, if he attempted to obey the summons. He, therefore, wisely concluded not to comply, and informed the governor by letter, that if the warrant should be enforced, and he perished, his blood would be required at his hands. His resolution not to remove from Sandwich is supposed to have received encouragement from the townsmen, by whom also it appears the constabulary were restrained from enforcing the warrant, and to the same course some of the more moderate of the magistrates inclined. In the early part of the following spring, however, the authorities of Sandwich at the

unremitting solicitation of the governor, resolved that the banished man should find a home elsewhere. On the intimation of this resolution, the attention of the exile was directed to Rhode Island, as a place of safety. He knew that its liberal-minded settlers would allow him a home amongst them; could he be favoured to reach their free soil. This he attempted, and, "through many difficulties and dangers," at last landed at Newport, its principal town. Here his banishment became the general theme of conversation. The untutored Indians, who still lingered about the dwellings of the white man, heard the tale with emotions of sorrow; and one, who was touched with the hardness of his lot, offered him a home among his tribe; and promised that, "if he would come and live with him, he would make him a good warm house."* Another chief, whose contemplative mind led him to reflect on the character of that religion, which could prompt its followers to such acts of inhumanity, was heard to exclaim, "What a God have the English, who deal so with one another about their God!"†

The tyranny which had marked the conduct of the rulers of Massachusetts began to open the eyes of many of the settlers, to the incongruity of the spirit, which prompted to such deeds, with that of the benign religion of Jesus Christ. Notwithstanding the earnest endeavours of the priests and rulers, by the stringent clauses of their act against Quakers, to prevent the introduction of their tenets, a desire was excited in the minds of not a few, to acquaint themselves more intimately with the doctrines and practices of a sect, whose presence it was even deemed improper to allow among them; and, thus, very soon, a knowledge of Quaker doctrines was more or less spread abroad in all the New England colonies. Among these, as in the mother country, there were found piously disposed individuals, who were, to a great extent, prepared to receive the simple and spiritual views of Christianity, as professed by Friends, and some, at a very early period became united in religious fellowship with them. Further remarks on this interesting point will be given in a future chapter.

* Norton's Ensign, p. 14. † Sewel's History of Friends, p. 161.

CHAPTER IV.

Mary Dyer and Ann Burden arrive at Boston from London—They are immediately imprisoned and sentenced to banishment—Ann Burden is sent to England—Mary Dyer goes to her home on Rhode Island—Extract from a letter of Henry Fell to Margaret Fell—Eleven Friends in the ministry feel a religious call to visit New England—Their difficulty in procuring a passage—Robert Fowler, a Friend, offers his small vessel for the purpose—His offer is accepted—Proceedings of the Society for defraying the expenses of this and other foreign gospel missions—They sail from London—William Dewsbury visits them at the Downs—His letter to Margaret Fell—Robert Fowler's narrative of the voyage—Fac-simile of a letter from W. Robinson one of the martyrs in New England, written to Margaret Fell, during the voyage—Five of the Friends land at New Amsterdam, now New York—The others proceed to Rhode Island—John Copeland's letter from Rhode Island.

For a few months after the banishment of Nicholas Upshal, the colony of Boston appeared to be clear of "Quaker heretics." The law which had been passed for their exclusion, the Puritan rulers and ecclesiastics fondly hoped would prove effectual for its intended purpose; and thus ended the year 1656. But this eventful period in the history of Friends in America had scarcely closed, ere others of the Society were directing their course to the forbidden land of Massachusetts, and as early probably as the First Month of 1657, Mary Dyer and Ann Burden reached the bay of that colony.

Mary Dyer was an inhabitant of Rhode Island, and had been on a visit to Great Britain, but for what purpose it is not clear. Whilst in England, she became convinced of the principles of Friends, and had received a gift in the ministry. Ann Burden, it appears, at this period was not a minister. She had formerly lived in New England, having been an inhabitant of Boston or

its vicinity for sixteen years; but her husband had removed his family to England and died there. She therefore now came to Boston, for the purpose of collecting some debts due to his estate. Both had been Antinomian exiles of Massachusetts;* Mary Dyer and her husband on their banishment, had sought refuge in the free colony of Rhode Island, whilst Ann Burden and her husband returned to their native land, to enjoy that religious freedom which the Puritans found under the Commonwealth.

Almost immediately on the arrival of M. Dyer and A. Burden off Boston, under the provisions of the Act against Quakers, they were seized by order of the magistrates, and placed under close confinement, in order "that none might come at them."† On their examination, Ann Burden pleaded the lawfulness of her business in the colony, but the only reply given to her reasoning was, that "she was a plain Quaker, and must abide their law.‡ After an imprisonment of three months, during which she suffered from indisposition, she was placed on shipboard for banishment.

The object of Ann Burden's voyage from England being thus frustrated by the unrelenting rulers, the sympathy of the kind-hearted people of the town was excited on her behalf: some of them exerted themselves in favour of the persecuted widow, and her fatherless children, and collected a portion of her debts, in goods, to the value of about forty pounds. But the goods being of a description unsuited for the English market, they interceded with the magistracy that she might be allowed to take them to Barbadoes, where they would find a ready sale. This humane and reasonable request was, however, unavailing. The master of the ship was "compelled to carry her to England;§ and on inquiring from whom he was to receive payment for her returning passage, he was advised to seize a sufficient quantity of her goods to meet the charge; but with the remark that it was without her consent that she became his passenger, he declined to act upon the recommendation. The moral sensibilities of the magistrates blunted by sectarian bigotry, not being so nice on the question of

* See Introduction, p. 20.
† New England Judged, p. 38.
‡ New England Judged, p. 38.
§ Ibid, p. 39.

right or wrong in the matter, as that which the sea captain had evinced, they immediately ordered a distraint upon the goods of the prisoner, to the amount of six pounds and ten shillings, for payment of the passage money; and, not deeming this a sufficient infliction on the distressed widow for professing Quakerism in their territory, they subsequently directed that none of the remaining portion of her goods should be shipped; so that, she received no part of the goods collected for her; and, excepting the small sum of six shillings, sent by an honest debtor, she obtained no portion of the amount due to her husband's estate.

How long Mary Dyer was imprisoned is not stated, but her husband, who was not in religious profession with Friends, on hearing of his wife's imprisonment, came from Rhode Island to fetch her. So much, however, did the priests and rulers of Boston dread Quaker influence, that they would not allow him to take her to his home, "until he became bound in a great penalty not to lodge her in any town of the colony, nor permit any to have speech with her on her journey."*

The following extract from a letter addressed by Henry Fell to Margaret Fell, contains some additional facts relative to the visit of Mary Dyer and Ann Burden.

Henry Fell to Margaret Fell.

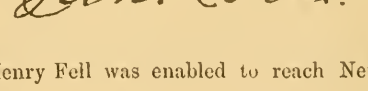
Barbadoes, 19th of Twelfth Month, 1656.

My dearly Beloved, in the Lord Jesus Christ,—

I was expecting to come away with the next ship, seeing freedom to come away from this place, and knowing no other then but for England. But truly at present the Lord hath ordered it otherwise, and, though it was contrary to my own will, yet by his eternal power, I was made willing to give up all to Him who hath laid down his life for me. Upon the 9th day of the Eleventh Month, the word of the Lord came to me that I should go to New England, there to be a witness for Him; so I was made willing to offer up my life and all, in obedience to the Lord;

* New England Judged, p. 39.

for his word was as a fire, and a hammer in me; though then in outward appearance there was no likelihood of getting passage thither, by reason of a cruel law which they have made against any Friends coming thither, (the copy whereof is here enclosed) but yet I was made confident, and bid [of the Lord] to wait till there was way made for me, and so about fourteen days after, a ship came in hither, which was going to New England, and was upon that coast, but the storms were so violent that they were forced to come hither, while the winter there was nearly over. In this ship are two Friends, Ann Burden of Bristol, and one Mary Dyer from London; both lived in New England formerly, and were members cast out of their churches. Mary goes to her husband who lives upon Rhode Island, (which they [the Puritans] call the island of error;) where they do banish those to, that dissent from them in judgment; and its likely Ann Burden hath some outward business there. In this ship the master hath permitted me passage, whom the Lord hath made pretty willing to carry me, and, he saith he will endeavour to put me ashore upon some part of New England, out of their power and jurisdiction, who have made that law. In the jurisdiction of Plymouth patent, where there is a people not so rigid as the other at Boston, are great desires among them after the truth; some there are, as I hear, convinced, who meet in silence at a place called Salem. Oh! truly great is the desire of my soul to be amongst them for the Seed's sake, which groans for deliverance from under that Egyptian bondage. I cannot express the desire of my soul towards them, and the love that flows out after them daily; for I see in the eternal light, the Lord hath a great work to do in that nation; and the time is hastening, and coming on apace, wherein He will exalt his own name and his power over all the heathen that know Him not."*



* It does not appear that Henry Fell was enabled to reach New England on this occasion.

The ship which conveyed Ann Burden to the shores of Britain, had scarcely weighed anchor for her passage across the Atlantic, before six of the eight Friends, who had been expelled from Boston in the preceding year, believed themselves required to attempt another voyage to New England, "being firmly persuaded that the Lord had called them to bear testimony to his truth in these parts, and having a full assurance of faith, that He would support them through whatsoever exercises He should be pleased to suffer them to be tried with." These were, William Brend, Christopher Holder, John Copeland, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Wetherhead and Dorothy Waugh.* About the same time a similar impression of religious duty was felt by five others, viz., Robert Hodgson, Humphrey Norton, Richard Doudney, William Robinson and Mary Clark.

The persecuting enactment of the court of Boston, which imposed serious penalties on the master of any ship who should venture to land Quakers within the limits of its jurisdiction, had

* The remaining two of the eight were Thomas Thurston and Mary Prince. The former again visited America, and to whom we shall hereafter refer; but the latter does not appear to have had any further call in her divine Master's service to that land. As it is our intention to give brief notices of the lives of those who visited the new continent in the work of the gospel, before we turn from the subject of the visit of Mary Prince and her companions, we shall give a few particulars concerning her.

Mary Prince was an inhabitant of Bristol, and was one of those who were convinced through the powerful and baptizing ministry of John Camm and John Audland, on their visit to that city in 1654. Soon after her convincement she was called to labour in word and doctrine, we have, however, no particulars of her services as a gospel minister, until her visit to Boston in 1656. In 1660, she travelled extensively on the continent of Europe with Mary Fisher. During the years 1663 and 1664, this devoted Friend, in common with most of her fellow-professors in Bristol, suffered severely for her religion. Within these two years she was three times committed to prison in that city. Her daughter Hannah, about this period, was united in marriage with Charles Marshall, a physician of Bristol, who had also been convinced, and, who in a few years after also came forth in the ministry. Mary Prince died in the Tenth Month 1679: in the burial record she is described as a widow of Castle Precincts, Bristol.

now become known in England, and a reluctance was naturally felt by the owners of vessels to take them as passengers. There appeared, therefore, no very early prospect that these devoted individuals would be able to obtain a passage to New England. But He, who is wonderful in working, and excellent in counsel, and who is often pleased to manifest his wisdom and power, at a time and in a way least expected by short-sighted man, was providing a means by which his servants might be enabled to go forward in the work to which He had called them. Robert Fowler, a ministering Friend of Burlington, in Yorkshire, a mariner by occupation, had about this time, completed the building of a small vessel; and whilst it was in the course of construction, he was impressed with the belief, that he should have to devote it to some purpose in furtherance of the cause of Truth. He first sailed in his new ship to London; and whilst at this port thought it right to state the feelings which had impressed him to Gerard Roberts, a merchant of Watling Street. Gerard, who was one of the most active members of the Society in making the needful arrangements for the visits of its ministers to foreign parts, was not slow to discover that a providential hand had led to their interview. To all human appearance the vessel was far too small to venture with safety on the mighty billows of the Atlantic; but Gerard Roberts and his brethren, not questioning that this was the mode provided for conveying the party to New England, engaged it for that purpose.*

The fact, that eleven Friends in the ministry were about to leave their native land for the shores of New England, and under circumstances so peculiar, did not fail, as it may be readily supposed, to produce an unusual degree of interest in the Society;

* The expenses incurred by several of these early missions were considerable, but the services having been undertaken with the full concurrence of the Society, the charges were paid from a fund raised for the purpose, in a manner similar to the practice of the Society in the present day. In the year following that in which Robert Fowler sailed with the little company for America, the first Yearly Meeting of the Society was held. It took place at Scalehouse, about three miles from Skipton, in Yorkshire. At this meeting the subject of the visits of Friends "beyond

and a deep solicitude was felt, that He who holdeth the waters as in the hollow of his hand, might go with them, and prosper them in that whereunto they were sent. On the 1st

sea" claimed much attention, and it was agreed to recommend a general collection in aid of these gospel missions. In pursuance of this conclusion the following epistle was issued :—

At a meeting of Friends out of the Northern Counties of York, Lincoln, Lancaster, Chester, Nottingham, Derby, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, at Scalehouse, the 24th of the Fourth Month, 1658.

Having heard of great things done by the mighty power of God, in many nations beyond the seas, whither He hath called forth many of our dear brethren and sisters, to preach the everlasting Gospel ; by whom He hath revealed the mystery of His truth, which hath been hid from ages and generations, who are now in strange lands, in great straits and hardships, and in the daily hazard of their lives ;—our bowels yearn for them, and our hearts are filled with tender love to those precious ones of God, who so freely have given up for the Seed's sake, their friends, their near relations, their country and worldly estates, yea, and their own lives also ; and in the feeling we are [have] of their trials, necessities and sufferings, we do therefore in the unity of the Spirit and bond of truth, cheerfully agree, in the Lord's name and power, to move and stir up the hearts of Friends in these counties, (whom God hath called and gathered out of the world,) with one consent, freely and liberally, to offer up unto God of their earthly substance, according as God hath blessed every one,—to be speedily sent up to London, as a free-will offering for the Seed's sake ; that the hands of those that are beyond the seas in the Lord's work may be strengthened, and their bowels refreshed, from the love of their brethren. And we commit it to the care of our dear brethren of London, Amos Stoddart, Gerrard Roberts, John Boulton, Thomas Hart, and Richard Davis, to order and dispose of what shall be from us sent unto them, for the supply of such as are already gone forth, or such as shall be moved of the Lord to go forth, into any other nation, of whose care and faithfulness we are well assured. And such Friends as are here present, are to be diligent in their several counties and places, that the work may be hastened with all convenient speed.

[Signed by many Friends.]

From the Original.

The appeal thus made was liberally responded to, and, considering the relative value of money at that period, a large amount was raised. Respecting this collection, and the manner in which it was expended, a

of the Fourth Month, 1657, Robert Fowler sailed with the party from London, and on the following day reached the Downs. Here,

curious and interesting account, hitherto unpublished, has been found in the Swarthmore collection of MSS., which is inserted :—

ACCOMPTS OF MONIES RECEIVED FOR THE SERVICE OF TRUTH.

	£	s.	d.
Yorkshire	30	0	0
Berkshire	46	11	4
Essex	48	10	5
Buckinghamshire	9	0	4
Kingston	2	15	0
Wellingborough	5	13	0
Kent	14	1	0
Sussex	24	16	4
Camb. and Huntingdon	19	12	9
Cheshire	19	5	0
Shrewsbury	1	14	4
Durham	21	0	0
Guildford	19	17	9
Lincolnshire	12	0	0
Norfolk	38	0	0
Worcestershire	10	13	1
Newport	6	8	8
Tibbalds	4	6	6
Leicestershire	4	18	6
Southampton	8	18	8
Cornwall	14	0	0
Radnorshire	2	9	0
Suffolk	30	4	11
Dorsetshire	3	12	0
Bedfordshire	2	7	0
Jacob-street	4	4	0
Rutlandshire	4	16	4
Oxford	3	0	0
Gloucestershire	2	2	6
Somersetshire	17	11	8
Banbury	10	13	4
The total,	443	3	5

MONIES DISBURSED FOR THE SERVICE OF TRUTH.

	£	s.	d.
For Friends diet returning from New England	12	0	0
John Stubbs, to Holland	4	13	0
For clothes and other things	5	7	9
To take with him	3	10	2
Paid in Holland for him, and other Friends there	19	18	0
Will. Caton, to Holland	2	10	0
Geo. Bayley, to France	4	5	0
Will. Shaw, a suit	2	4	0
Books to France and Jersey	4	10	0
To New England.			
For provision for their voyage	29	10	0
Paid to the master for part of his freight	30	0	0
For bedding and other things	12	8	0
And in money	35	4	4
More to William Brend	1	10	8
Do. M. Weatherhead	2	0	0
Do. Sarah Gibbons	4	10	0
To Turkey.			
For passage, to Cpt. Marshall	25	0	0
For their diet	10	0	0
For bedding, and other necessaries	7	16	0
Paid in money to them	46	19	11
Paid by bill of exchange for them in Turkey	60	0	0
Again, by bill for John Perrot in Turkey	20	0	0
Again for their use in money and other things	7	9	8
Over,	341	6	6

William Dewsbury, who was engaged in gospel labours in Kent, went on board to visit them, and was enabled to hand them a

	£	s.	d.
Brought over,	443	3	5
Brought over,	443	3	5

	£	s.	d.
Brought over,	341	6	6
For Geo. Rofe, to Holland	2	10	0
For Ann Austin's passage back from Barbadoes -	8	6	0
For part of M. Fisher's passage back from Barbadoes	2	4	6
For letters out of France	0	17	0
To Hester Biddle -	1	10	0
To Geo. Bayley, in France	5	0	0
For Books to Virginia -	2	5	0
John Hall, to Holland	10	12	8
For two Friends that returned from Hamburgh	1	10	0
For necessaries for John Hall - - -	4	15	11
To Sam. Fisher - -	12	4	6
More to Sam. Fisher -	1	7	6
For the Friends that went to Venice - -	47	1	0
For one Friend to Jamaica, for her passage - -	6	0	0
For necessaries - -	8	5	6
To the other Friends that went to Jamaica -	12	4	8
More for Friends beyond sea	1	0	0
To Hen. Fell, clothes and necessaries - -	4	0	8
For clothes for Ann Austin, when she went to keep Sam. Fisher's house	3	1	0
To John Harwood, when he came out of France -	4	10	0
The total sum,	480	12	5

At the General or Yearly Meeting held at Skipton, the 25th day of the Second Month, 1660, an epistle was issued containing a recommendation for a similar collection. It commences thus :—

"Dear Friends and Brethren,

"We having certain information from some Friends of London, of

word of encouragement. Writing to Margaret Fell about that time, he thus notices going on board:—

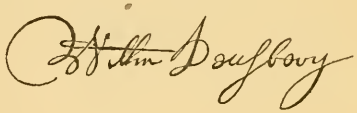
WILLIAM DEWSBURY TO MARGARET FELL.*

Kent, *the 5th of Fourth Month*, 1657.

DEAR SISTER,

—— Friends that go to New England I was aboard with in the Downs, the third day of this month. They were, in their measure, bold in the power of God: the life did arise in them. When I came off, they did go on in the name and power of the Lord our God. His everlasting presence keep them in the unity, in the life, and prosper them in his work: for many dear children shall come forth in the power of God in those countries where they desire to go.

In the power of the Lord God, farewell.



As they passed down the English Channel the wind blew roughly, and it was deemed advisable to put in at Portsmouth. Whilst at this place, William Robinson, one of the eleven, addressed the following letter to Margaret Fell:—

the great work and service of the Lord beyond the seas, in several parts and regions, as Germany, America, and many other islands and places, as Florence, Mantua, Palatine, Tuscany, Italy, Rome, Turkey, Jerusalem, France, Geneva, Norway, Barbadoes, Bermuda, Antigua, Jamaica, Surinam, Newfoundland; through all which, Friends have passed in the service of the Lord, and divers other countries, places, islands, and nations; and among many nations of the Indians, in which they have had service for the Lord, and through great travails have published His name, and declared the everlasting gospel of peace unto them that have been afar off, that they might be brought nigh unto God," &c.

A collection is then recommended in every particular meeting, to be sent "as formerly, to London, for the service and use aforesaid."

* Caton Collection of MSS., being an ancient volume of letters of Early Friends copied by William Caton.

William Robinson to Margaret Fell.

Southampton, *the 6th of the Fourth Month*, 1657.

M. F.,

Dear Sister, my dear love salutes thee in that which thinks not ill, which was before words were, in which I stand faithful to him who hath called us, and doth arm us against the fiery darts of the enemy, even in the fear and dread of the Almighty. I know thee and have union with thee, though absent from thee. I thought it meet to let thee know, that the ship that carries Friends to New England is now riding in Portsmouth harbour. We only stay for a fair wind. The two Friends, the man and his wife, which thou told me of when I was with thee at Swarthmore, I hear nothing of their coming to London as yet; so I thought good to let thee know the names of them that do go, which are ten in number, in the work of the ministry; Humphrey Norton, Robert Hodshon, Dorithy Waugh, Christo. Holder, William Brend, John Copeland, Rich. Doudney, Mary Weatherhead, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Clarke. The master of the ship, his name is Robert Fowler, a Friend; so in that which changes not, I remain,

William Robinson

Robert Hodshon is with me at this place, for we came hither this afternoon to have a meeting, seeing the wind is at present contrary; but we intend, if the Lord permit, to return back again to the ship to-morrow. Robert remembers his dear love to thee, and to the rest of Friends, with mine also.—W. R.

They sailed from Portsmouth on the 11th of the Fourth Month, and after once more touching English ground, the little bark was fairly launched on the mighty ocean. During the passage, several incidents of an interesting character occurred, which are detailed in a descriptive account penned by Robert Fowler himself; a manuscript copy of which, endorsed by George Fox, is still preserved among the archives of the Society in London. The narrative, though lengthy, is too interesting to be omitted in these pages. It is as follows:—

M: F

Southampton. ye. 6. of ye. 4: mo: 1657.

Deare. Sister. my deare Love. salutes thee. in ye wch things not ill. wch was before. words was, in wch
I stand. faithfull to him who. hath called. us. & doth arme us agt. ye fiery darts of ye enemie; even in ye feare & dread
of ye Almighty. I know thee & hath knowen. wth thee. though absent from thee. I thought it meete. to let thee know. yt
ye ship yt carries friends to new england. is now riding in Portsmouth. harbour. we onely stay for a faire winde. ye two friends
ye man & his wife wch then tould me off. when I was wth thee. at Swarthmoore. I here nothinge of their cominge to London as yet
but I thought good to let thee know. ye names of them yt doe goe. wch is seven in numbr. in ye worke of ye mighty. Humphrey
Norton. Rob: Hodshon. Dorithy waugh. Christo: Holder. Will: Brand Jno. Copline. Rich: Dowdy. mary. Witherhead. Sara: Gibons
Mary Clarke. ye master of ye ship. his name is Robert. ffowler a friend. soe in yt wch changes not I Remaine

William: Robinson

Robert Hodshon. who is wth me. at this place. for we came hether. this
after noone. to have a meeting at this place. & since ye wind is at
present. contrary. but we intend if ye Lord permitt to returne
backe againe. to ye ship to morrow. & Rob: remembrs his deare
love to thee & to rest of friends. wth mine also: Wm: R

A TRUE RELATION OF THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN BY ME ROBERT FOWLER, WITH MY SMALL VESSEL CALLED THE "WOODHOUSE;" BUT PERFORMED BY THE LORD, LIKE AS HE DID NOAH'S ARK, WHEREIN HE SHUT UP A FEW RIGHTEOUS PERSONS AND LANDED THEM SAFE, EVEN AT THE HILL ARARAT.

The true discourse taken as followeth. This vessel was appointed for this service from the beginning, as I have often had it manifested unto me; that it was said within me several times, "Thou hast her not for nothing;" and also New England presented before me. Also, when she was finished and freighted, and made to sea, contrary to my will, was brought to London, where, speaking touching this matter to Gerard Roberts and others, they confirmed the matter in behalf of the Lord, that it must be so. Yet entering into reasoning, and letting in temptations and hardships, and the loss of my life, wife, and children, with the enjoyment of all earthly things, it brought me as low as the grave, and laid me as one dead as to the things of God. But by his instrument George Fox, was I refreshed and raised up again, which before was much contrary to myself, that I could as willingly have died as have gone; but by the strength of God I was [now] made willing to do his will; yea, the customs and fashions of the custom-house could not stop me. Still was I assaulted with the enemy, who pressed from me my servants;* so that for this long voyage we were but two men and three boys, besides myself.

Upon the 1st day of the Fourth Month, called June, received I the Lord's servants aboard, who came with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm with them; so that with courage we set sail, and came to the Downs the 2nd day, where our dearly beloved William Dewsbury, with Mich. Thompson came aboard, and in them we were much refreshed; and, after recommending us to the grace of God, we launched forth.

* England had about this time fitted out a fleet for the Baltic, in order, as was alleged, to stop the aggressions of the Swedish monarch towards Denmark.

Again reason entered upon me, and thoughts rose in me to have gone to the Admiral, and have made complaint for the want of my servants, and for a convoy, from which thing I was withholden by that Hand which was my helper. Shortly after the south wind blew a little hard, so that it caused us to put in at Portsmouth, where I was furnished with choice of men, according to one of the captains words to me, that I might have enough for money; but he said my vessel was so small, he would not go the voyage for her.

Certain days we lay there, wherein the ministers of Christ were not idle, but went forth and gathered sticks, and kindled a fire, and left it burning; also several Friends came on board and visited us, in which we were refreshed. Again we launched forth from thence about the 11th day of the Fourth Month, and were put back again into South Yarmouth, where we went ashore, and there in some measure did the like. Also we met with three pretty large ships which were for the Newfoundland, who did accompany us about fifty leagues, but might have done 300, if they had not feared the men-of-war; but for escaping them they took to the northward, and left us without hope of help as to the outward; though before our parting it was showed to Humphrey Norton early in the morning, that they were nigh unto us that sought our lives, and he called unto me and told me; but said, "Thus saith the Lord, ye shall be carried away as in a mist;" and presently we espied a great ship making up towards us, and the three great ships were much afraid, and tacked about with what speed they could; in the very interim the Lord God fulfilled his promise, and struck our enemies in the face with a contrary wind, wonderfully to our refreshment. Then upon our parting from these three ships we were brought to ask counsel of the Lord, and the word was from Him, "Cut through and steer your straightest course, and mind nothing but me;" unto which thing He much provoked us, and caused us to meet together every day, and He himself met with us, and manifested himself largely unto us, so that by storms we were not prevented [from meeting] above three times in all our voyage. The sea was my figure, for if anything got up within, the sea without rose up against me, and

then the floods clapped their hands, of which in time I took notice, and told Humphrey Norton. Again, in a vision of the night, I saw some anchors swimming about the water, and something also of a ship which crossed our way, which in our meeting I saw fulfilled, for I myself, with others, had lost ours, so that for a little season the vessel run loose in a manner; which afterwards, by the wisdom of God, was recovered into a better condition than before.

Also upon the 25th day of the same month, in the morning, we saw another great ship making up towards us, which did appear, far off, to be a frigate, and made her sign for us to come to them, which unto me was a great cross, we being to windward of them; and it was said, "Go speak him, the cross is sure; did I ever fail thee therein?" And unto others there appeared no danger in it, so that we did; and it proved a tradesman of London, by whom we writ back. Also it is very remarkable, when we had been five weeks at sea in a bark, wherein the powers of darkness appeared in the greatest strength against us, having sailed but about 300 leagues, Humphrey Norton falling into communion with God, told me that he had received a comfortable answer; and also that about such a day we should land in America, which was even so fulfilled. Also thus it was all the voyage with the faithful, who were carried far above storms and tempests, that when the ship went either to the right hand or to the left, their hands joined all as one, and did direct her way; so that we have seen and said, we see the Lord leading our vessel even as it were a man leading a horse by the head; we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide, and Rule, but they that did failed.

Upon the last day of the Fifth Month, 1657, we made land. It was part of Long Island, far contrary to the expectations of the pilot; furthermore, our drawing had been all the passage to keep to the southwards, until the evening before we made land, and then the word was, "There is a lion in the way;" unto which we gave obedience, and said, "Let them steer northwards until the day following;" and soon after the middle of the day

there was a drawing to meet together before our usual time, and it was said, that we may look abroad in the evening; and as we sat waiting upon the Lord they discovered the land, and our mouths were opened in prayer and thanksgiving; and as way was made, we made towards it, and espying a creek, our advice was to enter there, but the will of man [in the pilot] resisted; but in that state we had learned to be content, and told him both sides were safe, but going that way would be more trouble to him; also he saw after he had laid by all the night, the thing fulfilled.

Now to lay before you, in short, the largeness of the wisdom, will, and power of God! thus, this creek led us in between the Dutch Plantation and Long Island, where the movings of some Friends were unto, which otherwise had been very difficult for them to have gotten to: also the Lord God that moved them brought them to the place appointed, and led us into our way, according to the word which came unto Christopher Holder, "You are in the road to Rhode Island." In that creek came a shallop to meet us, taking us to be strangers, we making our way with our boat, and they spoke English, and informed us, and also guided us along. The power of the Lord fell much upon us, and an irresistible word came unto us, That the seed in America shall be as the sand of the sea; it was published in the ears of the brethren, which caused tears to break forth with fulness of joy; so that presently for these places some prepared themselves, who were Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, who the next day were put safely ashore into the Dutch plantation, called New Amsterdam.* We came, and it being the First-day of the week several came aboard to us, and we began our work. I was caused to go to the Governor, and Robert Hodgson with me—he was moderate both in words and actions.

Robert and I had several days before seen in a vision the vessel in great danger; the day following this, it was fulfilled, there

* Upon the acquisition of New Netherlands, the English changed the name of New Amsterdam to New York, in honour of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

being a passage betwixt two lands, which is called by the name of Hell-gate; we lay very conveniently for a pilot, and into that place we came, and into it were forced, and over it were carried, which I never heard of any before that were; [there were] rocks many on both sides, so that I believe one yard's length would have endangered loss of both vessel and goods. Also there was a shoal of fish which pursued our vessel, and followed her strangely, and along close by our rudder; and in our meeting it was shewn me, these fish are to thee a figure. Thus doth the prayers of the churches proceed to the Lord for thee and the rest. Surely in our meeting did the thing run through me as oil, and bid me much rejoice.

Endorsed by George Fox,
"*R. Fowler's Voyage*, 1657."

It has been already stated, that of the eleven Friends who crossed the Atlantic in the "Woodhouse," five, viz. Robert Hodgson, Richard Doudney, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead, and Dorothy Waugh, landed at New Amsterdam on the 1st of the Sixth Month, 1657, being two months from the time of their leaving London.

The rest of this little band of gospel labourers left New Amsterdam in Robert Fowler's vessel on the 3rd of the Sixth Month, and passing through Long Island Sound, reached Rhode Island in safety. Whilst here, John Copeland addressed the following letter to his parents in England:—

Rhode Island, *the 12th of the Sixth Month*, 1657.

Dear Father and Mother,

My love salutes you and all the faithful in Christ Jesus, who is my joy, and in whom I do rejoice at present. This is to let you all know that I am at Rhode Island and in health, where we are received with much joy of heart; but now I and Christopher Holder are going to Martha's Vineyard, in obedience to the will of our God, whose will is our joy.

Humphrey Norton is at present at Rhode Island; Mary Clark waiting to go towards Boston; William Brend is towards Providence. The Lord God of Hosts is with us, the shout of a King is amongst us, the people fear our God, for his goodness is large and great, and reaches to the ends of the earth; his power has led us all along, and I have seen his glory, and am overcome with his love. Take no thought for me, for my trust is in the Lord; only be valiant for the truth upon earth. The Lord's power hath overshadowed me, and man I do not fear; for my trust is in the Lord, who is become our shield and buckler, and exceeding great reward.

The enclosed is the voyage as Robert Fowler did give it, which you may read as you can. Salute me dearly to my dear friends, with whom my life is, and the Lord's power overshadow you; so may you be preserved to his glory. Amen, amen. Stand fast in the Lord. We are about to sail to the Vineyard, and having this opportunity, I was free to let you know, by the Barbadoes, how we are. Farewell. I am your servant for the Lord's sake,

JOHN COPELAND.

CHAPTER V.

W. Robinson leaves Rhode Island for Maryland and Virginia—Mary Clark goes to Boston—Is imprisoned for three months, and whipped —John Copeland and Christopher Holder visit Martha's Vineyard— Are banished from that island and go to Sandwich—Several are convinced by their ministry—They are arrested, sent to Plymouth, and finally banished that colony—Some remarks on Friends preaching in steeple-houses — The colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth ineffectually endeavour to influence the authorities of Rhode Island to banish Friends—J. Copeland and C. Holder leave Rhode-Island for Massachusetts—Several are convinced by their preaching at Salem — They are arrested and sent prisoners to Boston — are whipped—Several of the colonists who had become Friends are imprisoned—Richard Doudney travels in Rhode Island and Massachusetts—at Boston he is imprisoned and whipped—J. Copeland, C. Holder, and R. Doudney, give forth a declaration of their Christian faith—The rulers at Boston enact a more severe law against Friends— The prisoners there are cruelly scourged—Their release—Humphrey Norton's travels and sufferings in New England—W. Brend and J. Copeland travel in Massachusetts and Connecticut—The authorities at Plymouth pass a law against Friends.

Several gospel ministers having now landed in New England, it will be interesting to trace the directions they severally took, in the prosecution of their religious labours. William Robinson appears to have been engaged for some time within the limits of Rhode Island; he then travelled southward as far as Maryland and Virginia; and, after an absence of two years, returned to New England. We shall hereafter have to speak of his engagements in this part of America.

Mary Clark, to whom John Copeland refers in his letter, as being at Rhode Island, "waiting to go towards Boston," arrived at that town in the latter part of the Sixth Month. The magistrates having soon been informed of the arrival of Mary Clark, immediately issued a warrant for her arrest, and on committing

her to prison ordered her to be severely whipped. This punishment was executed with great barbarity, twenty strokes with a heavy three-corded whip, "laid on with fury," being inflicted upon her. For three months she was detained a prisoner in Boston gaol, during which time she suffered much from cold.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder, very early after landing on Rhode Island, felt it required of them to visit the island of Martha's Vineyard, which lay a few leagues from the main land, where they landed on the 16th of the Sixth Month. The principal portion of its inhabitants at this period consisted of Indians of the Algonquin race, among whom the Puritans had established a mission for their conversion to Christianity. At the head of this was the son of the governor of the island. The class to whom the religious labours of the two Friends were more immediately directed, being the English settlers of the island, they thought it right to attend their place of worship. Here, after waiting quietly until Mayhew, the priest, had concluded, one of them spoke a few words to the company. The liberty thus taken gave great offence, and the Friends were forthwith "thrust out of doors," by the constable. This rough treatment did not discourage them from making another attempt, and in the afternoon they again assembled with the congregation. On this occasion, "they had some dispute" on doctrinal points, and were allowed quietly to withdraw. The governor, however, participating in the prejudices against Friends, determined to rid Martha's Vineyard of them; and accordingly, on the following morning, taking a constable with him, he called on the two strangers, and ordered them forthwith to leave the island. But John Copeland and Christopher Holder, who came as they believed in obedience to a divine call, and not in their own will, replied, that "in the will of God they stood as He made way." "It is the will of God," rejoined the governor, "that you should go to-day;" and having hired an Indian to convey them to the mainland, ordered the Friends to pay for the passage themselves. But not being willing to facilitate their own banishment, and not feeling that it was their divine Master's will for them to leave the island, they declined to go, or to pay the Indian who was hired to take them.

The refusal was unexpected to the governor, and after directing the constable forcibly to obtain the requisite sum from the strangers, he gave peremptory orders to the natives to take them away in their canoes. The Algonquins, however, not being in any great haste to execute the bidding of the governor contrary to the will of the Friends, and at a time too when the weather was stormy, entertained them for three days with marked kindness and hospitality. A change in the weather then taking place, and the banished ones feeling that it was no longer required of them to stay on the island, the Indians, at their own request, prepared to take them across. Before leaving the island, the Friends offered to remunerate the natives for their kindness, but these poor people, from the generous impulses of their hearts, acting more in unison with the spirit of Christianity than those who were wont to be their teachers, declined to receive any reward; "You are strangers," they replied, "and Jehovah hath taught us to love strangers."* Such simple and feeling language from the lips of a North American Indian, was a striking rebuke to the bigotry and intolerance which marked the conduct of their highly professing teachers.

John Copeland and Christopher Holder landed on the coast of Massachusetts on the 20th of the Sixth Month, 1657, and proceeded to the town of Sandwich. Their arrival at this place was hailed with feelings of satisfaction by many who were sincere seekers after heavenly riches, but who had long been burthened with a lifeless ministry and dead forms in religion. To these, in the authority and life of the gospel, the two Friends were enabled to offer the word of consolation and encouragement. But the town of Sandwich had its advocates of religious intolerance, and no small commotion ensued, when it was generally known that two English Quakers had arrived amongst them. "Great was the stir and noise of the tumultuous town," they remark, "yea, all in an uproar, hearing that we, who were called by such a name as Quakers, were come into those parts. A great fire was kindled, and the hearts of many did burn within them, so that in the heat thereof some said one thing, and some another; but the most part knew not what was the matter."†

* Norton's Ensign, p. 22. † Ibid. p. 22.

The stay of John Copeland and Christopher Holder at Sandwich was but short, and from thence they proceeded to Plymouth. Here, as at Sandwich, their presence seems to have caused much consternation, especially among the rulers and ecclesiastics of the place. Whilst "at the ordinary there," some who desired to ascertain the fact that Quaker ministers had really arrived, came and had a "long dispute" with them; and, finding that they were of the heretical sect, told them that they could not be permitted to remain within the limits of that colony. The Friends, however, feeling that it was required of them to return to Sandwich, frankly told the magistrates that they could not leave the colony, until they had again visited that town. They returned that night unmolested to their lodgings, but on the following morning they were arrested and taken before the magistrates. On their examination many questions were put to them, but as there was no ground for their committal to prison, they were discharged, with express orders from the bench, "to be gone out of their colony." On the following morning they left for Sandwich, but had not proceeded far before they were overtaken and arrested by a constable, who, having orders to prevent their travelling in that direction, conveyed them six miles towards Rhode Island, and then left them. This interruption of their course did not, however, deter them from attempting to reach Sandwich. The priests there, alarmed at the return of the Friends, prevailed on the local magistracy, after a few days, to have them arrested and taken back to Plymouth, where they were again examined in the presence of the governor. No infraction of the law was proved against them, they were nevertheless "required to depart" from the colony. Feeling that the service required of them in that part of New England was not accomplished, they intimated to the governor that they could not accede to his request, and that it was their intention to return to Sandwich. It appears that their gospel ministry had been instrumental in convincing many at this place of the principles of Friends, a circumstance which increased the alarm of the priests, who now exerted their utmost influence to procure their banishment. The urgent appeal was effective, and the governor to satisfy them, issued a warrant for

the arrest of the Friends, "as extravagant persons and vagabonds," to be brought before him at Plymouth. A copy of the warrant under which they were thus deprived of their liberty being asked for and refused, William Newland, at whose house the meetings of the newly convinced had been held, insisted that it was illegal thus to commit the strangers without acceding to their demand. A severe rebuke, and a fine of ten shillings, was the result of his exertions on behalf of the prisoners. The prisoners again arraigned before the court at Plymouth, were told by the magistrates, who were urged on by the priests, that there was a law forbidding them to remain in that jurisdiction. The Friends replied, that they could not promise to leave. The following warrant for their expulsion was then issued, accompanied with a threat from the bench, that if they returned they should be whipped as vagabonds :

"To the Under-Marshal of the Jurisdiction of Plymouth,

"Whereas, there hath been two extravagant persons, professing themselves to be Quakers, at the town of Plymouth, who, according to order, may not be permitted to abide within the liberty of this jurisdiction. These are therefore in the name of his highness, the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to will and command you forthwith, on receipt hereof, to convey the said persons, viz. Christopher Holder and John Copeland, unto the utmost bounds of our jurisdiction. Whereof fail not at your peril."*

"*Dated at Plymouth, the* 31*st of August*, 1657.

The under-marshal, in fulfilment of his charge, conveyed them fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, and then set them at liberty; and the Friends soon reached that asylum for the persecuted.

In the course of this history, and especially in the New England division of it, several instances of Friends having entered the public places of worship will be met with. One has already

* Norton's Ensign, p. 24.

been mentioned in the foregoing account of the religious services of C. Holder and J. Copeland. Much censure has been undeservedly cast upon our early Friends, by some modern writers, for these acts of devotedness; we say undeservedly, because the practice of individuals addressing the congregation after the minister had concluded his sermon, was not unfrequent during the Commonwealth, nor at all peculiar to Friends. The subject is one of much interest, as affecting the character of many of the prominent members of the Society, during its rise, both in this country and America; and, in the hope that they may tend to remove the censure which has been unjustly entertained in this respect, the following remarks are offered.

It is generally admitted, that the Christian church in apostolic days recognised no one individual as the appointed minister of their religious congregations, but that all present, who felt a divine call to address the assembly, were at liberty to do so. "Ye may all prophesy," said Paul to the Corinthian church, "one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted;"*—"wherefore brethren," he continues, "covet to prophesy." The original practice of the Christian church in this respect, agreed with the usages of the Jewish Synagogues, in which it was the custom for persons holding no office or appointment, to address the assembly. Thus we find, that Paul and Barnabas preached to the Jews in their synagogue at Salamis,† and that Paul, both at Corinth and Ephesus, "entered into the synagogue and reasoned with them."‡ As the Christian church departed from its primitive purity and simplicity, this individual liberty was discontinued, but at what particular period of its history the restriction took place, it is not easy to ascertain. Several allusions are made to these administrations in the writings of the Fathers of the first century, and we also find them noticed during the latter part of the second century. Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, A.D. 133, mentions that the gifts of prophecy were exercised both by men and women; they are also referred to by Ireneus, bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178. "We hear many brethren in the church,"

* 1 Cor. xiv. 31. † Acts xiii. 5. ‡ Acts xviii. 4-19.

he remarks, who are endued with prophetic gifts; who speak by the Spirit in all kinds of languages; who bring to light the secrets of men for good purposes, and who declare divine mysteries."*

During the long night of apostacy which followed, the freedom of gospel ministry was superseded by human ordination and intervention, and it does not appear that Luther and his reforming contemporaries, were enlightened on this manifest departure from Christian principle. Amongst the dissenting bodies, however, that arose soon after the Reformation, the liberty for any individual member of the church who felt himself divinely called to address the congregation, was again admitted. The Baptist and Independent churches of Great Britain, and also the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, recognised the primitive example. In a work, entitled "The True Constitution of a particular visible church," published in 1642, by John Cotton, Puritan pastor of Boston, in Massachusetts, he thus describes the degree of liberty then allowed:—"Where there be more prophets as pastors and teachers, they may prophesy two or three, and if the time permit, the elders may call any other of the brethren, whether of the same church, or any, to speak a word of exhortation to the people, and for the better edifying of a man's self, or others, it may be lawful for any (young or old,) save only for women, to ask questions at the mouth of the prophets." The Baptists in 1643, thus express themselves on the subject: "Although it is incumbent on the pastors and teachers of the churches to be instant in preaching the word, by way of office; yet the work of preaching the word is not so peculiarly confined to them, but that others also gifted and fitted by the Holy Ghost for it, and approved, being by lawful ways and means, in the providence of God called thereto, may publickly, ordinarily, and constantly perform it, so that they give themselves up thereto."† "The English Independents," remarks Robert Barclay, "also go so far as to affirm, that any gifted brother, as they call them, if he find himself qualified

* Modern translation from Adv. Hæres, lib. v. cap. 6.

† A declaration of the faith and order of the (Baptists) congregational churches in England. Ed. 1658.

thereto, may instruct, exhort, and preach in the church."* During the civil wars in the time of Charles I., it was no uncommon practice for the laity, and even for soldiers, to preach in the public places of worship, and with the sanction of the civil power. Sir John Cheke, when High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, preached at the University at Oxford dressed in his sheriff's robe and gold chain of office. The rigid Presbyterians of Scotland, however, never admitted the liberty; and during Cromwell's victorious campaign in that country in 1650, the Scotch ministers expressed their dissatisfaction with him for "opening the pulpit doors to all intruders;" to which he returned this memorable reply; "We look on ministers as helpers of, not lords over, the faith of God's people. I appeal to their consciences, whether any, denying their doctrines or dissenting from them, will not incur the censure of a sectary. And what is this but to deny Christians their liberty, and assume the infallible chair? Where do you find in Scripture that preaching is exclusively your functions? Though an approbation from men has order in it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than that, hath none at all. I hope He that ascended up on high, may give his gifts to whom he pleases, and if those gifts be the seal of missions, are not you envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesy? You know who has bid us covet earnestly the best gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy; which the apostle explains to be, a speaking to instruction, edification, and comfort, which the instructed, edified, and comforted, can best tell the energy and effect of.

"Now if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for your own sakes, lest you be guilty of a greater fault than Moses reproved in Joshua, when he envied for his sake. Indeed you err through mistake of the Scriptures. Approbation is an act of convenience, in respect of order, not of necessity, to give faculty to preach the gospel. Your pretended fear, lest error should step in, is like the man that would keep all the wine out of the country, lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by nature, upon a supposition

‡ Barclay's Apology, Prop. X. § XIII.

he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, then judge." And in answer to the governor's complaint, that men of secular employments had usurped the office of ministry, to the scandal of the reformed churches, he queries, "Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Doth it scandalize the reformed churches, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the covenant? Away with the covenant if it be so. I thought the covenant and these men would have been willing that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving, nor the kirk you mention, the spouse of Christ."*

It was in the time of the Commonwealth that the Society of Friends arose in England, a time not only of great excitement in the religious world, but also of great unsettlement in the State. The Royalists had been subdued by the Parliamentarians, and Puritanism was in the ascendant. The Puritans, however, were far from harmonious in their views on politics, and they differed still more widely in matters of religion. The Presbyterians and Independents formed the leading parties of the combination, and whilst with common consent they abolished Episcopacy, there was a rivalry between them as to the ecclesiastical government which should be its substitute. The Presbyterians made great efforts for the recognition of their form; this, however, was strenuously and successfully opposed by the Independents. The intention of many of the leaders in parliament was to admit of no established church, but leave every one to embrace whatever sect was most congenial to them; and to support such ministers as met their approval. In 1653, the parliament actually took into consideration the abolition of the clerical functions as savouring of popery, and the taking away of tithes, which many of the members called a relic of Judaism. The Presbyterians were decidedly opposed to these views; but so strong was the feeling against the application of tithes for the clergy, that in a house of one hundred and eleven members, forty-three voted against such an appropriation, although Cromwell, in this instance, had thrown the weight of his influence on the Presbyterian side.† On the abolition of

* Cromwell's Letters and Speeches by Thomas Carlyle, vol. i. p. 61.

† Burton's Diary, vol. i. p. 3.

Episcopacy, the Liturgy was superseded in 1645, by another form of worship, called, the "Directory," and which continued in use until the restoration of the monarchy. The Directory was not an absolute form of devotion, but contained only some general directions to the ministers as to public prayer and preaching, and other parts of their functions, leaving them a discretionary power to fill up the vacant time. Whilst there was this general regulation as respected the form of worship, the pulpits were occupied variously by all kinds of professors. "Independent and Presbyterian priests, and some Baptist priests," observes George Fox in 1655, "had got into the steeple-houses,"* and who, now the Episcopalians were driven out, were said to hunt after a benefice as "crows do after a rotten sheep."†

Enlightened as were our early Friends on the subject of ministry and worship, they viewed with feelings of sorrow the routine of lifeless forms and ceremonies which prevailed among the various classes of the religious community;—a strong and a deep conviction rested on their minds, that the prevailing religious systems were essentially opposed to the pure and spiritual religion of Christ. They were not less fully persuaded of this, nor, it may be added, on less substantial grounds, than John Huss or Martin Luther was of the anti-christian character of the Romish church. They believed themselves called upon to testify, "in the name of the Lord," against a system which contained so woful an admixture of human invention.

Our early predecessors, when they first went forth to preach among their fellow-men, the spiritual and primitive doctrines of the gospel, frequently embraced the liberty granted in the days of the Commonwealth, of addressing the congregations in steeple-houses. As early as 1648, George Fox preached in these places. "I was moved," he observes at this date, "to go to several courts and steeple-houses at Mansfield, and other places, to warn them to leave off oppression and oaths, and to turn from deceit to the Lord, and do justly."‡ In the two succeeding years he also mentions preaching in steeple-houses. In 1651, he records several

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 304. † Ibid.p. 305. ‡ Ibid. p. 105.

instances of this service. At Beverley, he writes, "I went up to the steeple-house where was a man preaching. When he had done, I was moved to speak to him, and to the people, in the mighty power of God, and turned them to their teacher, Christ Jesus. In the afternoon I went to another steeple-house, about two miles off. When the priest had done I was moved to speak to him, and to the people very largely. The people were very loving, and would have had me come again on a week-day, and preach among them."* At Malton the priest wished him to go into the pulpit, but having an objection to pulpits, he declined, and addressed the congregation from a less conspicuous place, and "having had a large opportunity among them, he departed in peace." At Pickering soon after, he had a similar opportunity.

George Fox, when he first visited Swarthmore, "went to Ulverstone steeple-house on a lecture or fast-day; but he came not in," says Margaret Fell, "till the people were gathered: I, and my children, had been a long time there before. And when they were singing before the sermon, he came in; and when they had done singing, he stood up upon a seat or form, and desired that he might have liberty to speak; and he that was in the pulpit said, he might."† From Ulverstone he went to Aldenham and Ramside steeple-houses, where he also addressed the congregations. At the latter place, the priest "having acquainted" the people of G. Fox's visit, a large number attended. He also mentions preaching in several other steeple-houses during the same year.

In 1654, when Friends first visited London, they not unfrequently availed themselves of these opportunities. "Last First-day but one," observes E. Burroughs in 1654, "I was at a steeple-house in the forenoon, and had free liberty to speak what I was free, and passed away to [our] meeting in the afternoon."‡ About the same date F. Howgill writes, "I went to E. B., who was gone to Lombard street to a public steeple-house, where most of the high notionists in the city come, and so I came to him

* G. Fox's Journal, vol. i. p. 154.

† Testimony of M. Fox concerning G. Fox in G. Fox's Journal.

‡ Letter to Margaret Fell, Caton MSS.

before the priest had done, and after he ceased, Edward stood up upon a seat and spoke with a loud voice, and in much power, and all was still and quiet; and he spoke about one hour, and the people were very calm; and afterwards, I spoke, and we cleared our consciences and passed away in peace."* In the following year when Richard Hubberthorne visited the eastern counties, he occasionally preached in steeple-houses. On one occasion he says, that he "staid all day in the steeple-house with the people;" and on "the same day," he remarks, "James Parnell was at another steeple-house, where the priest suffered him to speak."† It is also notorious, that John Bunyan, who was a Baptist, held disputations with Friends in Bedford steeple-house.

The circumstance of our early Friends entering the public places of worship in the times of the Commonwealth, is one which has been much misunderstood, and greatly misrepresented. For these acts of dedication they have been calumniated as disturbers of religious congregations, and as outraging the peace and order of the churches. This estimate doubtless has been formed with reference to usages of more modern date; but to decide upon the conduct of Friends in this particular, from a consideration of present circumstances, would be exceedingly erroneous. In preaching in the national places of worship, they did but avail themselves of a common liberty, in a period of extraordinary excitement on religious things. There were numerous other religious meetings held in those times, but into none of these did Friends obtrude themselves. Some, probably, will argue, that the fact of their being so severely punished for persisting in this practice, may be adduced in support of its irregularity; but it may be answered, that the preaching of Friends almost everywhere at that time, whether in steeple-houses or private houses, or in-doors or out of doors, equally called down the rigour of ecclesiastical vengeance. It was not, in fact, because Friends preached in these places so much as for what they preached, that they suffered. When George Fox was committed to Derby prison in 1650, after preaching in the steeple-house at "a great lecture," the mittimus states, that his offence was for "uttering and broaching of

* Letter to Margaret Fell, Caton MSS. † Ibid.

divers blasphemous opinions." In 1659, Gilbert Latey went to Dunstan's steeple-house in the West, where the noted Dr. Manton preached. At the conclusion of the sermon Gilbert Latey addressed the assembly relative to some errors in Manton's sermon, for which he was seized by a constable and taken before a magistrate, who, however, gave G. Latey leave to speak for himself. The statement he made satisfied the justice, and he replied, that he had heard the people called Quakers were a sort of mad, whimsical folks; "but," said he, "for this man, he talks very rationally, and I think for my part, you should not have brought him before me."* To which the constable replied, "Sir, I think so too." This occurred eleven years after G. Fox first visited a steeple-house, and during that time Friends had suffered very much for speaking in steeple-houses, yet now a magistrate declares, that speaking rationally after the preacher had finished in a steeple-house, is not an offence for which a man ought to be brought before him. But the ministry of Friends struck at the very foundation of all hierarchical systems, and the discovery of this circumstance prompted the priests to call in the aid of the civil power to suppress the promulgation of views so opposed to ecclesiastical domination.

The arrival of so many ministers in New England during the summer of 1657, and more particularly the visits of Mary Clark to Boston, and of Christopher Holder and John Copeland to Sandwich and Plymouth, together with the marked success which attended their labours in the propagation of their principles, caused no small degree of alarm and excitement among those who were striving for the entire ascendancy of Puritan orthodoxy in that country. The safety and freedom which Rhode Island afforded to the persecuted and banished of every country, including the poor banished and hunted Friends, proved very annoying to the rulers of church and state in Massachusetts. In their estimation it was an evil of such magnitude, and so fraught with danger to the true interest of that religion for which they and their forefathers had suffered, as to require counteracting

* Life of Gilbert Latey.

measures of a very decided character. The Commissioners of the United Colonies, lending a ready ear to the suggestions of intolerance, determined to exert their power and influence to effect the desired object, and, if possible, to compel the authorities of Rhode Island to unite with the other colonies of New England, in expelling Quakers from their territory. In the early part of the Seventh Month, 1657, a general meeting of this body took place at Boston, at which, in pursuance of their purpose, the following minute and letter were prepared for the governor of Rhode Island.

"*Sept. 12th*, 1657. The Commissioners, being informed that divers Quakers are arrived this summer at Rhode Island, and entertained there, which may prove dangerous to the colonies, thought meet to manifest their minds to the governor there, as followeth :—

"Gentlemen,—We suppose you have understood that the last year a company of Quakers arrived at Boston, upon no other account than to disperse their pernicious opinions, had they not been prevented by the prudent care of the government, who by that experience they had of them, being sensible of the danger that might befall the Christian religion here professed, by suffering such to be received or continued in the country, presented the same unto the Commissioners at their meeting at Plymouth ; who, upon that occasion, commended it to the general courts of the United Colonies, that all Quakers, Ranters, and such notorious heretics, might be prohibited coming among us ; and that if such should arise from amongst ourselves, speedy care might be taken to remove them ; (and as we are informed) the several jurisdictions have made provision accordingly ; but it is by experience found that means will fall short without further care by reason of your admission and receiving of such, from whence they may have opportunity to creep in amongst us, or means to infuse and spread their accursed tenets to the great trouble of the colonies, if not to the ———— professed in them ; notwithstanding any care that hath been hitherto taken to prevent the same ; whereof we cannot but be very sensible and think no care too great to preserve us from such a pest, the contagion whereof

(if received) within your colony, were dangerous to be diffused to the others by means of the intercourse, especially to the places of trade amongst us; which we desire may be with safety continued between us; we therefore make it our request, that you as the rest of the colonies, take such order herein that your neighbours may be freed from that danger. That you remove these Quakers that have been received, and for the future prohibit their coming amongst you; whereunto the rule of charity to yourselves and us (we conceive), doth oblige you; wherein if you should we hope you will not be wanting; yet we could not but signify this our desire; and further declare, that we apprehend that it will be our duty seriously to consider, what provision God may call us to make to prevent the aforesaid mischief; and for our further guidance and direction herein, we desire you to impart your mind and resolution to the General Court of Massachusetts, which assembleth the 14th of October next. We have not further to trouble you at present, but to assure you we desire to continue your loving friends and neighbours, the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

"*Boston, September* 12*th*, 1657."

The letter of the Commissioners, being received by the governor of Rhode Island, was presented by him to the "Court of Trials," held at Providence, the 13th of the Eighth Month following. It was the desire of that body to maintain friendly relations with all the settlements of New England; but, acting in unison with the law of their colony, "that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine,"* they resolved that no settler or stranger within the limits of their jurisdiction, should be persecuted for whatever opinions in religion he might either hold or teach. The "Court of Trials," however, desiring to avoid any immediate collision with their neighbours, thought it best to return a cautious answer to the Commissioners, informing them that the subject would obtain further consideration at their own general assembly, which was to meet early in the following year. The reply, although it speaks of the doctrines of Friends as tend-

* Enactment of 1641.

ing to the "very absolute cutting down and overturning relations and civil government among men, if generally received," which had reference only to their testimony against war, evidently admitted that, although several had visited the colony, and some had received the doctrines they preached, yet the civil authorities had no complaint to prefer against them.* The general assembly of Rhode Island adverted to, met in the First Month, 1658. The communication of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, being then brought under their consideration, resulted in the preparation of the following answer :—

"*From the General Assembly to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.*

"Honoured Gentlemen,—There hath been presented to our view, by our honoured president, a letter bearing date September 25th last, subscribed by the honoured gentlemen, commissioners of the united colonies, concerning a company of people, (lately arrived in these parts of the world,) commonly known by the name of Quakers; who are generally conceived pernicious, either intentionally, or at least-wise in effect, even to the corrupting of good manners, and disturbing the common peace, and societies, of the places where they arise or resort unto, &c.

"Now, whereas freedom of different consciences, to be protected from enforcements, was the principal ground of our charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also the true intent of the honourable and renowned Parliament of England, in granting the same unto us; which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world; therefore, we shall, for the preservation of our civil peace and order, the more seriously take notice that those people, and any other that are here, or shall come among us, be impartially required, and to our utmost constrained, to perform all duties requisite towards the maintaining the dignity of his highness, and the government of that most renowned Commonwealth of England, in this colony; which is most happily included under the same

* See answer in Appendix to vol. i. of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts.

dominions, and we so graciously taken into protection thereof. And in case they the said people, called Quakers, which are here, or shall arise, or come among us, do refuse to submit to the doing all duties aforesaid, as training, watching, and such other engagements as are upon members of civil societies, for the preservation of the same in justice and peace ; then we determine, yea, and we resolve (however) to take and make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England, that he may humbly present the matter (as touching the considerations premised, concerning the aforesaid people called Quakers,) unto the supreme authority of England, humbly craving their advice and order, how to carry ourselves in any further respect towards those people—that therewithal there may be no damage, or infringement of that chief principle in our charter concerning freedom of conscience. And we also are so much the more encouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector, for his highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand there are, or have been, many of the aforesaid people suffered to live in England ; yea, even in the heart of the nation. And thus with our truly thankful acknowledgments of the honourable care of the honoured gentlemen, Commissioners of the United Colonies, for the peace and welfare of the whole country, as is expressed in their most friendly letter, we shall at present take leave and rest. Yours, most affectionately, desirous of your honours and welfare

" John Sandford, *Clerk of the Assembly.*

" *From the General Assembly of the Colony of Providence Plantation,*

" To the much honoured John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts. To be also imparted to the honoured Commissioners of the United Colonies at their next meeting ; these."

The reply of the general assembly of Rhode Island was just such as might have been expected from men enlightened on the subject of religious freedom ; and the special reference which they make " to the freedom of different consciences," as being

the principal ground of their charter, manifests their desire to impress on the minds of the rulers of Massachusetts, how greatly they prized that privilege. The absence of any thing like a response to the feelings which dictated the message from Massachusetts, and the probable effect of their answer in inducing a hostile feeling towards them, led them doubtless to refer in the manner they did to their being "graciously taken into protection" by England. It is evident that they wished to convey the idea, that in the event of compulsory measures being resorted to, the assistance of the Commonwealth would be sought; and the parallel which they draw between their own position and that of the mother country, by referring to the circumstance of Friends "being suffered to live in England—in the very heart of the nation," was significant of their hope, that in case of need, that assistance would not be sought in vain.

The general assembly of Rhode Island, feeling the peculiarity of their position in extending toleration to Quakers within their borders, thought it advisable to put their representative in England in possession of the facts of the case. The following extract from a letter addressed to him on the subject, still further shows the manner in which they regarded the communication of the Commissioners:—

"The last year we had laden you with much employment, which we were then put upon, by reason of some too refractory among ourselves; wherein we appealed unto you for your advice, for the more public manifestation of it with respect to our superiors. But our intelligence it seems fell short, in the great loss of the ship, which is conceived here to be cast away. We have now a new occasion, given by an old spirit, because of a sort of people, called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, and have raised up divers, who seem at present to be of their spirit, whereat the colonies about us seem to be offended with us, because the said people have their liberty amongst us, as entertained into our houses, or into our assemblies. And for the present, *we have no just cause* to charge them with the breach of the civil peace; only they are constantly going forth among them about us, and vex and trouble them in point of their religion and

spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar on their bodies for the same. And the offence our neighbours take against us is, because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from among us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them. Concerning which displeasure that they seem to take; it was expressed to us in a solemn letter, written by the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their sitting, as though they would bring us in to act according to their scantling, or else take some course to do us greater displeasure. A copy of which letter we have herewith sent unto you, wherein you may perceive how they express themselves. As also we have herewith sent our present answer unto them, to give you what light we may in this matter. There is one clause in their letter, which plainly implies a threat, though covertly expressed.

"Sir, this is our earnest and present request unto you in this matter, as you may perceive in our answer to the United Colonies, that we fly, as to our refuge in all civil respects, to his highness and honourable council, as not being subject to any others in matters of our civil state; so may it please you to have an eye and ear open, in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbours about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty."

Returning to Christopher Holder and John Copeland, whom we left in Rhode Island after their expulsion from Plymouth, we find them, about the middle of the Seventh Month, 1657, passing northwards to Salem, within the settlement of Massachusetts. In that vicinity they held meetings, and made converts to the doctrines they preached. Referring afterwards to this visit they thus speak: "Having obtained mercy from God, and being baptized into his covenant Christ Jesus, [we] preached freely unto them the things we had seen and heard, and our hands had

handled, which as an engrafted word took place in them, such as never can be rooted out, so that our hearers in a short time became our fellow-sufferers."*

On First-day, the 21st of Seventh Month, they went to the Puritan place of worship at Salem ; and, after the priest had concluded, Christopher Holder felt a religious call to address the assembly. Here, however, as in Martha's Vineyard, he was not allowed to proceed, one of the Commissioners, "with much fury" seized him, and, "haling him back by the hair of his head,"† violently thrust a glove and handkerchief into his mouth. Samuel Shattock, who afterwards became convinced, on witnessing the furious conduct of the Commissioner, and fearful lest the Friend might be choked, interfered, and, taking the hand of the incensed ruler, drew it away. Shattock, though a man of "good reputation,"‡ had to suffer severely for thus evincing his kindness to the stranger ; being sent the next day, as a prisoner with the two Friends to Boston. The course taken by the authorities of Boston with the strangers, was to examine them separately, in order "to find them in contradictions;" and for this purpose, Bellingham, and the secretary, accompanied by "the Elder and Deacon" of the place, visited the prisoners. "But," remark the Friends, "we abiding in the truth, which is but one, spake one thing, so that they had no advantage against us, neither could take hold of any thing we had spoken." The inquisitors, however, not being willing to acknowledge that their labour was altogether lost, declared that their answers "were delusive, and that the devil had taught them a deal of subtilty."§

A few hours after this interview, Christopher Holder and John Copeland were ushered into the presence of the Governor and Commissioners ; and, after undergoing a frivolous examination, were sentenced, under "the law against Quakers," to receive thirty lashes. The brutal manner in which the sentence was carried out, was in accordance with the spirit that prompted the rulers to pass the cruel law. A three-corded knotted whip was used on the occasion ; and the executioner, to make more sure of his

* Norton's Ensign, p. 60. † New England Judged, p. 40.
‡ New England Judged, 41. § Norton's Ensign, p. 61.

blows, "measured his ground," and then "fetched his strokes with all his might."* Thirty strokes thus inflicted, as will be readily imagined, left the sufferers miserably torn and lacerated; and in this state they were conveyed to their prison cell. Here, without any bedding, or even straw to lie on, the inhuman gaoler kept them for three days without food or drink; and in this dismal abode, often exposed to damp and cold, were these faithful men confined for the space of nine weeks. We may wonder that under such aggravated cruelties, their lives were spared, but He, for whose holy cause they thus suffered, was near to support and console them. His ancient promise was fulfilled in their experience, and they rejoiced in the comforting presence of his living power.

Samuel Shattock, who was committed to prison on the charge of being "a friend to the Quakers,"† was released on his giving a bond in the sum of twenty pounds, to answer the charge at the ensuing court, "and not to assemble with any of the people called Quakers at their meetings."‡ Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, "an aged and grave couple"§ of Salem, who had entertained the two gospel messengers, were also arrested on a similar charge. Lawrence, being a member of the Puritan church, was released to receive his punishment in the shape of church censure. Cassandra, who had long dissented from the "Pilgrim Fathers," in both doctrine and worship, and who was not therefore amenable to their discipline, was obliged to expiate her offence by an imprisonment of seven weeks in Boston gaol.

Richard Doudney, who left the "Woodhouse" at New Amsterdam, was engaged for several weeks in that vicinity. He then directed his course towards Rhode Island, and, again proceeding northwards, entered Massachusetts. In the early part of the Ninth Month he reached Dedham, where, on being discovered by his speech to be a Friend, he was apprehended, and forthwith carried before the authorities at Boston. In less than three hours after he had entered this place, he was subjected to a cruel

* New England Judged, p. 40. † Ibid, p. 41. ‡ Ibid, p. 41.
§ Ibid, p. 42.

whipping of thirty lashes, and was then sent to share the lot of his friends in Boston gaol.

It will be readily supposed that the course pursued by the priests and ruling powers of Massachusetts towards Friends, must have raised in the minds of many of the honest-hearted settlers no inconsiderable degree of prejudice against them. The distorted views of Quaker tenets, which were industriously circulated throughout New England, in justification of the cruelties practised, could scarcely fail to produce such a result. In the American colonies, as well as in England, calumny and misrepresentation were too generally favourite weapons of the enemies of the new Society. From a very early date it had been the practice of Friends, in order to correct the public mind in reference to their principles, to put forth declarations of their christian faith, and this course Christopher Holder and John Copeland felt it right to adopt whilst imprisoned at Boston. The document they issued, an imperfect copy of which has been preserved, is rendered the more interesting, as being, it is believed, the first written exposition of the doctrinal views of the Society,* and containing, as it does, clear evidence of the soundness of the views of our early Friends, is additionally valuable. Richard Doudney, on joining his imprisoned friends, also attached his signature to the declaration. There is but little doubt that this document is the "paper of exhortation" ‡ referred to by the historian Sewel; it is as follows:

A Declaration of Faith, and an exhortation to obedience thereto, issued by Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, while in Prison at Boston in New England, 1657.

"Whereas it is reported by them that have not a bridle to their tongues, that we, who are by the world called Quakers, are blasphemers, heretics, and deceivers; and that we do deny the

* The first Declaration or Confession of Faith published in England, of which any record exists, appears to have been the one put forth by Richard Farnsworth, in 1658.—*Vide*, Evan's "Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends," p. xiv.

† Sewel's History, p. 172.

scriptures, and the truth therein contained: therefore, we, who are here in prison, shall in few words, in truth and plainness, declare unto all people that may see this, the ground of our religion, and the faith that we contend for, and the cause wherefore we suffer.

"Therefore, when you read our words, let the meek spirit bear rule, and weigh them in the equal balance, and stand out of prejudice, in the light that judgeth all things, and measureth and manifesteth all things.

"As [for us] we do believe in the only true and living God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all things in them contained, and doth uphold all things that he hath created by the word of his power. Who, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past to our fathers by the prophets, but in these last days he hath spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things, by whom he made the world. The which Son is that Jesus Christ that was born of the Virgin; who suffered for our offences, and is risen again for our justification, and is ascended into the highest heavens, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Even in him do we believe; who is the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth. And in him do we trust alone for salvation; by whose blood we are washed from sin; through whom we have access to the Father with boldness, being justified by faith in believing in his name. Who hath sent forth the Holy Ghost, to wit, the Spirit of Truth, that proceedeth from the Father and the Son; by which we are sealed and adopted sons and heirs of the kingdom of heaven. From the which Spirit, the Scriptures of truth were given forth, as, saith the Apostle Peter, 'Holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' The which were written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come; and are profitable for the man of God, to reprove, and to exhort, and to admonish, as the Spirit of God bringeth them unto him, and openeth them in him, and giveth him the understanding of them.

"So that before all [men] we do declare that we do believe in God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, according as they are [declared of in the] Scriptures; and the Scriptures we own to

be a true declaration of the Father, Son and Spirit; in [which] is declared what was in the beginning, what was present, and was to come.

"Therefore, all [ye] people in whom honesty is! stand still and consider. Believe not them that say, Report, and we will report it—that say, Come, let us smite them with the tongue; but try all things, and hold fast that which is good. Again we say, take heed of believing and giving credit to reports; for know that the truth in all ages was spoken against, and they that lived in it, were, in all ages of the world, hated, persecuted, and imprisoned, under the names of heretics, blasphemers, and

[Here part of the paper is torn off; and it can only be known, by an unintelligible shred, that fourteen lines are lost. We read again as follows:]

"that showeth you the secrets of your hearts, and the deeds that are not good. Therefore, while you have light, believe in the light, that you may be the children of the light; for, as you love it and obey it, it will lead you to repentance, bring you to know Him in whom is remission of sins, in whom God is well pleased; who will give you an entrance into the kingdom of God, an inheritance amongst them that are sanctified. For this is the desire of our souls for all that have the least breathings after God, that they may come to know Him in deed and in truth, and find his power in and with them, to keep them from falling, and to present them faultless before the throne of his glory; who is the strength and life of all them that put their trust in Him; who upholdeth all things by the word of his power; who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

Thus we remain friends to all that fear the Lord; who are sufferers, not for evil doing, but for bearing testimony to the truth, in obedience to the Lord God of life; unto whom we commit our cause; who is risen to plead the cause of the innocent, and to help him that hath no help on the earth; who will be avenged on all his enemies, and will repay the proud doers.

"CHRISTOPHER HOLDER,
"JOHN COPELAND,
"RICHARD DOUDNEY,

"*From the House of Correction the 1st of the*
"*Eighth Month, 1657, in Boston.*"

I certify that the foregoing is an accurate and true copy of the original document, issued by the above-named Friends, so far as the same can in its present mutilated state be read; and that it exactly corresponds with the original, except that, for the sake of perspicuity, some additional points have been inserted, the orthography has been adapted to modern usage, some words, not legible, have been supplied within crotchets, and a few grammatical errors have been corrected.

GOOLD BROWN.*

New York, Ninth Month 23rd, 1829.

In addition to the foregoing, Christopher Holder and John Copeland prepared a document, shewing how contrary to the tenor of the New Testament was the persecuting spirit exhibited in New England; with a warning to those who indulged therein. This paper gave great offence to the magistrates. The malevolent Endicott told the prisoners that they deserved to be hanged for writing it; and if he had possessed power to execute his desires, the gibbet on Boston Common would, in all probability, soon have terminated the labours of these good men. The governor and deputy-governor, who, in their hatred to Quaker doctrines, were resolved to crush every appearance of them in Massachusetts, determined that those whom they had imprisoned in Boston gaol should feel the utmost weight of their hand, and, overstepping the bounds of their existing laws, cruel as they were, they ordered all the Friends then in prison to be "severely whipped twice a week," the punishment to commence with fifteen lashes, and to increase the number by three, at every successive application of the degrading sentence.

Severe as the Massachusetts law of 1656 had been against the Quakers, its promoters found, to their disappointment and dismay, that it failed to accomplish its purpose. The rulers of Boston, with Endicott at their head, urged blindly on by their

* The original was obtained by Goold Brown from a distant relative, whose ancestors were members of our religious Society of Pembroke, in Plymouth county, Massachusetts. He has forwarded to us a copy of the words remaining in the mutilated part of the document referred to; they are, however, so few and isolated as not to have any intelligible meaning. They are therefore not inserted.

animosity to the new sect, concluded to try the effect of yet severer measures, and at their court in the Eighth Month, 1657, passed the following law:

"As an addition to the late order, in reference to the coming, or bringing in any of the cursed sect of the Quakers into this jurisdiction, It is ordered, that whosoever shall from henceforth bring, or cause to be brought, directly or indirectly, any known Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics into this jurisdiction, every such person shall forfeit the sum of £100. to the country, and shall, by warrant from any magistrate, be committed to prison, there to remain, until the penalty be fully satisfied and paid; and if any person or persons within this jurisdiction, shall henceforth entertain or conceal any Quaker or Quakers, or other blasphemous heretics (knowing them to be so) every such person shall forfeit to the country forty shillings for every hour's concealment and entertainment of any Quaker or Quakers, &c., and shall be committed to prison till the forfeitures be fully satisfied and paid: And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume (after they have once suffered what the law requireth) to come into this jurisdiction, every such male Quaker shall, for the first offence, have one of his ears cut off, and he kept at work in the house of correction, till he can be sent away at his own charge; and for the second offence, shall have his other ear cut off, and kept at the house of correction as aforesaid. And every woman Quaker that hath suffered the law here, that shall presume to come into this jurisdiction shall be severely whipped, and kept at the house of correction at work, till she be sent away at her own charge; and so also for her coming again, she shall be used as aforesaid: And for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a third time offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron, and kept at the house of correction close to work till they be sent away at their own charge. And it is further ordered, That all and every Quaker, arising from amongst ourselves, shall be dealt with and suffer the like punishment, as the law provides against foreign Quakers.

"Edward Rawson, *Secretary.*"

"*Boston*, 14*th day of October*, 1657."

The barbarous and illegal proceedings of Endicott and Bellingham, in ordering the imprisoned Friends to be whipped twice a week in the manner described, raised loud murmurs among many inhabitants of the town, who felt that such cruel indignities were alike repugnant to humanity and justice. The compassion thus excited towards the sufferers, effected their release, and on the 24th of the Ninth Month, they obtained their discharge. The law which had been enacted in the previous month was then read to them, when they were forthwith banished from the colony, except Cassandra Southwick, who was permitted to return to her home at Salem. In addition to Christopher Holder, John Copeland and Richard Doudney, we find that Mary Clark was banished on this occasion.

Humphrey Norton, who landed from Robert Fowler's vessel at Rhode Island, appears to have been engaged in that colony during the Sixth and Seventh Months, and in the following month, within the limits of Plymouth colony. On entering the latter he proceeded forthwith to Sandwich, where he laboured in the work of the ministry among those who had now become his fellow-professors. He was not, however, allowed to remain long undisturbed. A warrant was issued against him on the vague charge of being an extravagant person, and he was arrested and conveyed to Plymouth. Having been detained there a considerable time without examination, Humphrey began to fear that the court then sitting would adjourn without giving him a hearing; he therefore sent this brief message to the magistrates.

"Seeing you have apprehended me publicly as an evil doer, and have continued me [a prisoner] contrary to law, equity, and good conscience, I require of you a public examination, and if found guilty, to be publickly punished; if not, cleared."*

The magistrates accordingly had the prisoner brought before them. Several of them evinced a feeling of moderation, but not so the governor, who commenced an attack on the doctrines of Friends, denying that the light which enlightened every man was sufficient for salvation. But Humphrey Norton showed him by

* Norton's Ensign, p. 25.

the declaration of Holy Writ, that "the grace of God, that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men;" and that Christ had said "my grace is sufficient for thee." The governor then asked him "whether the Scriptures were not the rule of life and ground of faith." He replied, that it was only "through faith in Christ Jesus," the great Author and Finisher of our faith, and the true Rule and Guide of life, that the Scriptures were able to make wise unto salvation.* Unable to convict him of any breach of their laws, they nevertheless sentenced him to banishment. Having been taken by the officers fifty miles in the direction of Rhode Island, he proceeded to that settlement, within the limits of which he laboured for some months in the work of his Great Master. Towards the close of the year, he passed over to Long Island, and arriving in the Twelfth Month at Southhold, he was arrested and taken to New Haven in Connecticut, where he was heavily ironed, and imprisoned for twenty-one days, and, notwithstanding the severity of the season, was also denied the use both of fire and candle. To his further sufferings at New Haven, we shall have occasion again to refer.

William Brend, who we may here remark, was an aged person, after landing with his companions at Rhode Island, appears to have confined his gospel labours to that province until the Eleventh Month of 1657; when, being joined by his young friend John Copeland, who had been but a few weeks before banished from Boston, he set out on a visit to the colony of Plymouth. They first proceeded to Scituate, (now Pembroke) where they met with their fellow-voyager Sarah Gibbons, who had lately come from New Netherlands. At Scituate there were those who rejoiced in the spread of the doctrines declared by Friends, and at the house of James Cudworth, a magistrate, the three gospel labourers met with a cordial reception. Their presence in the colony again disturbed the rulers at Plymouth, and, anticipating that neither Cudworth, nor his fellow-magistrates of Scituate, would prosecute them, officers were dispatched for their arrest. Timothy Hatherly, another magistrate of Scituate, on

* Norton's Ensign, p. 33.

examining the warrant of the officers, significantly observed, "Mr. Envy had procured this;" and, on his own responsibility refused to permit the arrest to take place. Thus shielded from their enemies, William Brend and John Copeland pursued their religious engagements without interruption. The heart of Timothy Hatherly had evidently been tendered by the Day-spring from on high, awakening his interest for the spread of vital religion, and for the preservation of its advocates from the hands of evil men. With this feeling, the worthy magistrate, on the departure of William Brend and John Copeland, furnished them with the following pass:—

"These are, therefore, to any that may interrupt these two men in their passage, that ye let them pass quietly on their way, they offering no wrong to any.

"Timothy Hatherly."*

With this pass, the two Friends left Scituate, intending to proceed without delay to the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut; and in their journey they passed through Plymouth. On hearing this, the magistrates immediately issued a warrant for their arrest, which was soon accomplished. Being brought before the authorities, they were required to enter into an engagement to leave that jurisdiction within forty-eight hours. They replied that it was with the intention of proceeding elsewhere that they were pursuing the journey, but that they felt restrained from making a promise to do so. This being construed by the bench into contemptuous perverseness, the travellers were sentenced to a severe scourging. It was in vain that these persecuted men pleaded their rights as Englishmen, to travel in any part of the dominions of their country; "the protector's instrument of government" was unheeded by the persecuting magistrates.

The rulers of the colony of Plymouth, like their fellow professors at Boston, found that their efforts for the suppression of

* Norton's Ensign, p. 28.

Quakerism were abortive. Ministers of the new Society continued to arrive within their limits, and the doctrines which they preached had been received by many, who rejoiced to welcome them to their homes. The noble conduct of Cudworth and Hatherly, in protecting the persecuted Friends, tended greatly to increase the gloomy apprehensions of the Puritans. These alarming indications of the spread of the "Quaker contagion," having obtained the grave consideration of the Court at Plymouth, induced it to enact the following law.

"Whereas there hath several persons come into this Government commonly called Quakers, whose doctrine and practices manifestly tend to the subversion of the fundamentals of Christian religion, church order, and civil peace of this Government, as appears by the testimonies given in sundry depositions and other. It is therefore enacted by the Court and authority thereof, that no Quaker or person commonly so called, be entertained by any person or persons within this Government, under the penalty of five pounds for every such default or be whipped. And in case any one shall entertain any such person ignorantly, if he shall testify on his oath that he knew not them to be such, he shall be free of the aforesaid penalty, provided he, upon his first discerning them to be such, do discover them to the constable or his deputy."

The passing of the foregoing order brings us to the close of the year 1657, a year memorable in the early history of Friends in America. In addition to those who landed from the "Woodhouse," New England was also visited towards the close of this year by John Rous, William Leddra, and Thomas Harris from Barbadoes. There were, therefore, at least ten Friends who were travelling at this period in the work of the ministry in that province. From what has already been related, it is evident that the work in which they were engaged was not of human appointment, and that, under the divine blessing, the precious truths they advocated, had taken root, and were spreading in the western world.